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Tell-Trothes New-Years Gift

AND

The Passionate Morrice.

JOHN LANE'S

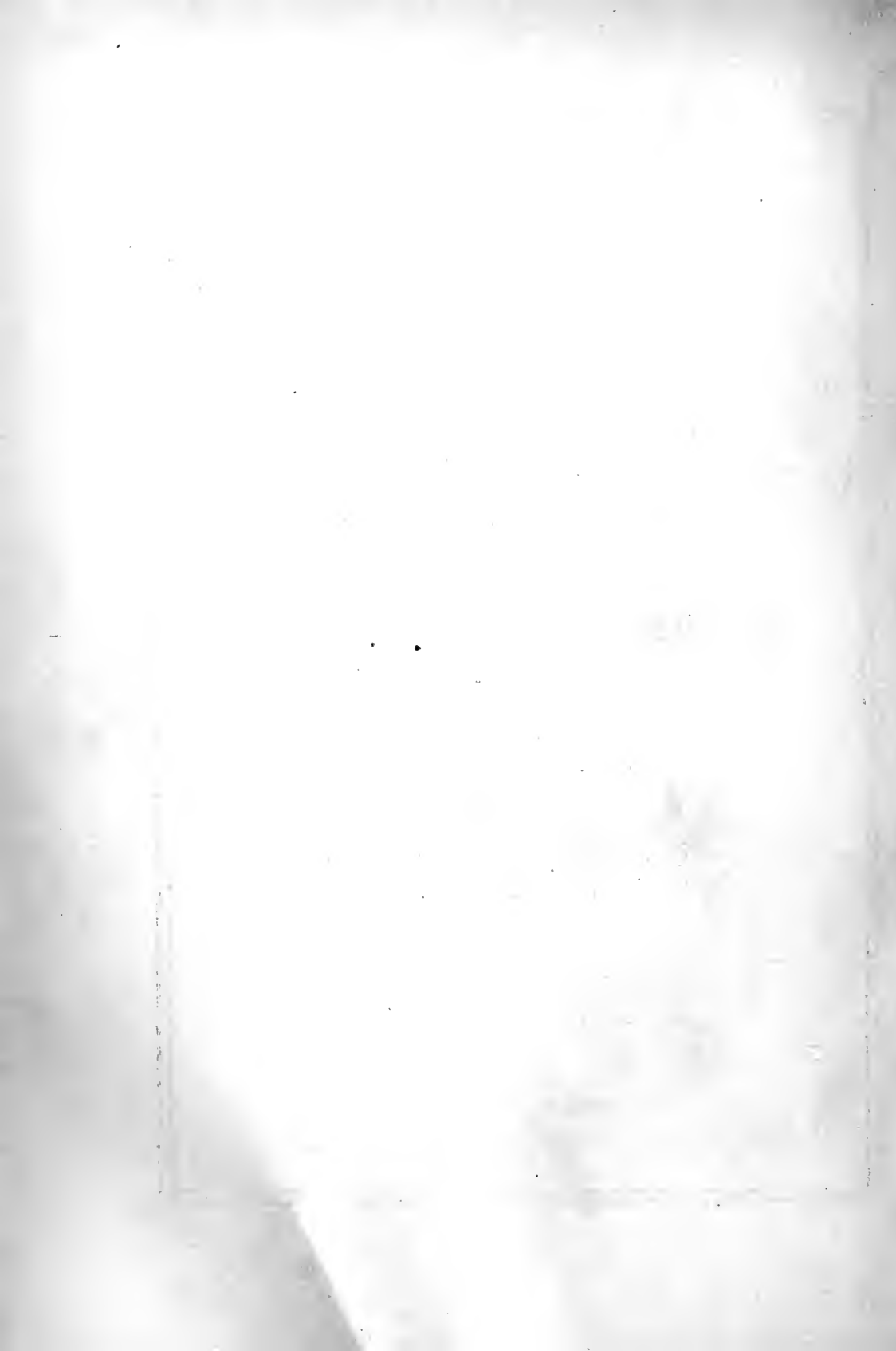
Tom Tell-Troths Message, and his Pens Complaint.

THOMAS POWELL'S

Tom of all Trades.

The Glasse of Godly Love.

(BY JOHN ROGERS?)



New Shakspeare Society,
" [Publications]

Series 6 : Nos. 2-3

Shakspeare's England

TELL-TROTHES NEW-YEARES GIFT

BEEING

ROBIN GOOD-FELLOWES NEWES OUT OF THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE
INHABITES NEITHER CHARITY NOR HONESTY,

WITH HIS OWNE INUECTIVE AGAINST IELOSY.

AND

THE PASSIONATE MORRICE.

1593.

JOHN LANE'S

Tom Tell-Troths Message, and his Pens Complaint.

1600.

THOMAS POWELL'S

TOM OF ALL TRADES.

OR

THE PLAINE PATH-WAY TO PREFERMENT.

BEING

A DISCOVERY OF A PASSAGE TO PROMOTION IN ALL PROFESSIONS, TRADES,
ARTS, AND MYSTERIES.

1631.

THE GLASSE OF GODLY LOUE.

(BY JOHN ROGERS?)

1569.

EDITED BY

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PUBLISHT FOR

The New Shakspeare Society

BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57, 59, LUDGATE HILL,
LONDON, E.C., 1876.

35318
10/9/94

PR
2888
L6
ser. 6
no. 2-3

Series VI. No. 2.

CLAY AND TAYLOR PRINTERS BUNGAY.

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§ 1. HERE are reprints of three rare tracts, of which the first two are on the England of Elizabeth's time (1593, 1600), and the third is written by a man of her time, tho' not publisht till the seventh year of Charles the First's reign (1631). The fourth scrap is before 1600.

The printing of the first tract was urg'd on me by my friend Mr W. C. Hazlitt, because there was only one copy of it known to him, and that at Peterborough Cathedral Library, quite out of the way of the ordinary student. As this tract dealt with the husband-and-wife question in Shakspere's young days, and mainly took-up the other side (the woman's) to that which Shakspere backt in *The Comedy of Errors* (Act II. sc. i. ; V. i. 68—86), I was glad to recommend it to the friend and fellow-member of our Society¹ who had offerd to give us a Shakspere's-England reprint of moderate size. Otherwise its inner worth would not have given it so early a place in our Sixth Series. But still, for the social condition of England in Shakspere's time, this *Tell-Trothes New-years Gift* of 1593 has great interest, so far as the family life of the middle classes is concernd: Oddly enough, too, it does illustrate aptly a bit of the last long speech of Suffolk in 1 *Henry VI*, V. v. 48—54 (tho' I suppose that is not Shakspere's), about the young king's choice of the dowerless Margaret :

¹ He has made it a condition that his name be not mentiond.

x Forewords. § 1. Elizabethan and Victorian Morals.

Suf. A dower, my lords ! disgrace not so your king,
That he should be so abject, base, and poor,
To choose for wealth, and not for perfect love.
Henry is able to enrich his queen,
And not to seek a queen to make him rich :
So worthless peasants bargain for their wives,
As market-men for oxen, sheep, or horse.

At p. 61-2, of Tell-Troth's Part II, *The Passionate Morrice*, we come on the following passage :—

"Fie, fie ! mariages, for the most part, are at this day so made, as looke how the butcher bies his cattel, so wil men sel their children. He that bids most, shal speed soonest ; & so he hath money, we care not a fart for his honestie. Well, it hath not been so, and I hope it wil not be long so ; & I wil assure you, lous common-wealth wil neuer flourish vntil it be otherwise. Why, it is a common practize to aske the father what hee will giue with his childe ; and what is that differing from cheapening an Oxe ? And it is as common, that if she be fat, it is a bargaine, but if leane, she must stay another customer."

This cannot be call'd an advance on the low part of the earlier *Paston-Letters* view of the marriage question.¹

I do not want to puff our Victorian time against the Elizabethan. We have faults enough, God knows. There *may* be a few beings call'd women now extant, who justify the sketches that reviews tell us sensation-novelists draw, and that prurient article-writers affect to denounce,² but surely no one can turn from the cuckoo cry which the *Love's-Labours-Lost* end song, and almost all Elizabethan books on social life, echo ; no one can contrast Shakspeare's doctrine on the relation of husband and wife in *The Errors* (First-Period) and *Taming of the Shrew*, with Tennyson's in *The Princess*,³ without

¹ There is also proof of plenty of true love in these Letters ; and Margaret Paston, the heroine of the volumes, is not far from being a model wife of the time:

² See my *Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. i, p. 2.

³ There's nothing, situate under heaven's eye,
But hath his bound, in earth, in sea, in sky :
The beasts, the fishes, and the winged fowls,
Are their males' subject, and at their controls :
Men, more divine, the masters of all these,

Dear, but let us type them now
In our own lives, and this proud watch-word rest
Of equal ; seeing either sex alone
Is half itself, and in true marriage lies
Nor equal, nor unequal : each fulfils
Defect in each, and always thought in thought,
Purpose in purpose, will in will, they grow,

feeling that enormous moral progress has been made since the Elizabethan time in the relations of the sexes, and of husband and wife.¹

The comparison of *Love's Labours Lost* with *The Princess* is full of interest; and though the contrast of the converse excluders of the opposite sex in the two works strikes a student of both poets at first sight, I have never seen or heard it alluded-to in any criticism of the poem or play. The comparison of *In Memoriam* with the *Sonnets* has been indeed mentiond, but never workt out, full of interest as the subject is. Victorians need not fear to set Arthur Hallam by Shakspeare's Will H., or the grounds of Tennyson's affectionate reverence for his friend, by those of Shakspeare's love for his.

Assuming, then, that the full description by the unknown 1593 TELL-TROTHER² of the causes of Jealousy in English husbands, and

Lords of the wide world, and wild
wat'ry seas,
Indued with intellectual sense and
souls,
Of more pre-eminence than fish and
fowls,
Are masters to their females, and their
lords:

Then let your will attend on their ac-
cords.—Luciana, in *Errors*, II. i.
(Cp. Milton's view.)

The single pure and perfect animal,
The two-cell'd heart, beating, with one
full stroke,
Life.

The Princess, p. 157, 1st ed., 1847.

¹ The views of our narrow-minded (and often caddish) folk, as well as those of our broader-minded and more generous men, on the Woman-question, are annually stated in the House of Commons, in the debate on the Woman's-Suffrage Bill, or any attempt to admit women to the learned professions. Women still wait for justice and fair-play.

² *Indouindlo*, a tell-truth, a tom-tell-troth.—1598; Florio. For the second name of the title, Robin Goodfellow (or Hobgoblin), see Shakspeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 34, 40, Cotgrave, and Florio:

Follet; or, *Esprit follet*. An Hobgoblin, **Robin-goodfellow**, Bugbear.—1611; Cotgrave.

Luiton: m. A Goblin, Bug, **Robin-good-fellow**, merrie diuell, that vses to mocke, and deceiue, sillie people.—1611; Cotgrave.

Loup-garou: m. A mankind Wolfe ... also a **Hobgoblin**, Hob-thrush, **Robin-good-fellow**; also a night-walker, or flie-light; one thats neuer seene but by Owle-light.—1611; Cotgrave.

Lutin: m. A Goblin, **Robin-good-fellow**, Hob-thrush; a spirit which plays reakes in mens houses anights.—1611; Cotgrave.

Lutiner. To play the Goblin, or night-spirit; to keepe a foule rumbling, or terrible racket vp and down a house in the night.—1611; Cotgrave.

Fantasma, a ghost, a hag, a **robin goodfellow**, a hob-goblin, a sprite, a iade, the riding hagge, or mare.—1598; Florio.

the relation of father and daughter, husband and wife, justifies the appearance of our first tract, in this volume, I pass on to the second, John Lane's *Tom Tel-troths Message and his Pens Complaint*, of 1600, when Shakspeare was writing, or had just written, his brilliant Second-Period *Much Ado* and *As You Like It*.

§ 2. John Lane is known to manuscript men by his still unprinted completion of Chaucer's *Squires Tale*,¹ and his re-telling of the Romance of *Guy of Warwick*, the prose Forewords to which are printed in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 521-5, from the Harleian MS. 5243 in the British Museum. He is not mentioned in Edmund Howes's list of English poets with "Willi. Shakespeare gentleman" (Continuation of Stowe's *Annales*, ed. 1615, p.

Mani ... hobgoblins, or elves, or such misshapen images or imagined spirits that nurces fraie their babes withall, to make them leaue crying, as we say bug-beare, or els, rawe head and bloodie bones.—1598; Florio.

Lemuri, the ghosts or spirits of such as dye before their time, or *hobgoblins*, black bugs, or nightwalking spirits.—ib. And see *Manduco*.

¹ Thus describ'd in Black's Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS., 1845, col. 91-2 :

No. 53. A small quarto volume, containing 81 leaves of paper, gilt at the edges, beside three on which are written the title and introductory pieces: it is very neatly written, as for a presentation copy; and the royal Arms are stamped on the covers.

"Chaucer's Piller, beinge his Master-peece, called the Squires Tale, weh hath binn given [up as] lost, for all most thense three hundred yeares: but now found out, and brought to light by John Lane. 1630."

On the back of the title is an acrostick (forming "Maria Anglie. C. M.") from "The Muse to the soveraigne bewtie of our adreadded sovereign lord King Charles:" which introduces an affected dedication, followed by 8 lines from "The Muse to the fowre winds," by "J. L.," and 6 lines to the author by Thomas Windham, of Keinsford, co. Somerset, Esq., one of the Justices. On the fourth page are 4 stanzas from the fourth book of the *Faerie Queene* by "The poet Spencer, uppon the loss of that peece of Chaucers." Then follow the Description of the Squier by Chaucer (in his prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, v. 79-100), and "The Squires prolog, as it is in Chaucer," and "The Squiers tale as it is in Chaucer," the text of which on f. i.

The two first parts of this poem, and the two first lines of the third part, are copied from Chaucer; at the end of the second (f. 10^b) is this note—"Heare followeth my suppliment to bee inserted in place of that of Chaucer's which is missing. J. L." This long poem, which bears no just proportion to Chaucer's tales, consists of twelve parts or cantos, to each of which is prefixed a summary stanza of 4 lines. At the end are an Epilogus (f. 79^b), "The Marchantes wordes to the Squier, and the Hostes wordes to the Marchant as they are in Chaucer" (f. 80), and "Comparatio," f. 80^b.

On the back of f. 81, Ashmole has written an extract from Lydgate's "Temple of Glass," about Canace, the heroine of this story.

811, col. 2); but, as the friend of Milton's father, he is done more than justice to by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, who in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675, thus describes Lane:—

"A fine old Queen Elizabeth gentleman, who was living within my remembrance, and whose several poems, had they not had the ill fate to remain unpublisht, when much better meriting than many that are in print, might possibly have gain'd him a name not much inferiour, if not equal, to *Drayton* and others of the next rank to *Spencer*; but they are all to be produc't in Manuscript: namely, his *Poetical Vision*¹; his *Alarm to the Poets* [1648]; his *Twelve Months*¹; his *Guy of Warwic*, a Heroic Poem (at least as much as many others that are so Entitled); and lastly his Supplement to *Chaucer's Squires Tale*."—1675, p. 111-12; edition 1824, p. xxiii. See also Winstanley's *Lives of the Poets*, p. 100 [which only repeats part of Phillips].—Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 326, col. 2.

Besides the above, John Lane² wrote

"An Elegie vpon the death of the high and renowned Princesse, our late Soueraigne Elizabeth. By I. L. Imprinted at London for John Deane, at Temple-barré. 1603; 4to, 7 leaves. *Bodleian* (Malone) *ib.*; and

"Tritons Trumpet, 1620." (Hazlitt.)

His *Tom Tel-Troths Message* is a poem of 120 six-line stanzas, in which he complains of his countrymen's naughtinesses. The closest handling of his subject is in pages 119—134, where he deals with the Seven Deadly Sins. This should be compared with the like part in *The Times Whistle*, by R. C., about 1616 A.D., edited for the Early English Text Society by Mr J. M. Cowper in 1871.

Lane first complains of the Pope, the Cardinals, priests, monks, friars, and all 'this popish ribble-rabble route,'³ stanzas 14-19, p. 113-114. Then he laments vaguely the state of 'Englands two Vniuersities,' and the Seven Liberal Sciences, p. 115-118, of which, Grammar 'stands bondslaue-like, of Stationers to be sold,' l. 149, and Poetry brings no solace to country swains, who fancy more 'the winding of an horne,' l. 208, while ballad-makers pen 'new giggies for a countrie clowne,' l. 216, and 'bastard braines' with their base rymes work Poetry's infamy, l. 226.

¹ See *Percy Folio*, ii. 522, col. 1, at foot. The *Poetical Visions* was to have 'first and second partes.'

² Under A.D. 1572, Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, Pt. i, col. 189, notes,—when speaking of John Lane, of Christ Church, who died in 1578—"There was one John Lane, a poet, about this time."

³ Compare *The Image of Ypocresye*, &c., in my *Ballads from MSS.*, i. 181-266.

Next come the Seven Deadly Sins. Under (1) *Pride*, Lane abuses the 'fine-ruft Ruffines,' st. 42, p. 119; the dandies 'full trick and trim tir'd in the lookinge glasse,' l. 255, casting sheeps-eyes¹, &c., walking with fantastical gait, st. 45, wearing long hair or curld locks, st. 46, resembling every shape like Proteus,² and every colour like the chameleon, st. 47; drest in the snip-snap jagd clothes, st. 48, that in former fashions Chaucer in his *Parsons Tale*, and so many other complainers from time to time condemnd; and with wingd sleeves, round hose, cloaks short and long, st. 51, p. 121. Then the women are scolded for their dress: bold Beatrice with her wires—that movd Stubbes's wrath—tires, periwig, and caul (st. 52); with feathers (which men wear too), st. 53, 54; pumps, pantofles, corkt shoes (st. 55, p. 122), and fans (st. 56). The picture alluded-to in stanzas 57-8, of the Englishman set alone, in other folks' feathers, I have not come across.³ Andrew Boorde's caricature, given at p. 167 of my *Harrison*, is the only one of the kind I know.

Under (2) *Envy*, the only special hits are at the Minstrels daily striving with blind fiddlers, l. 398, p. 124, the justling Jacks driving their betters to the wall, l. 400, and the scoffers 'with rimes and riddles rating at their foe,' l. 405.

Under (3) *Wrath*, we have the fights in Smithfield, the lines that make one think of the sad death of Marlowe in a quarrel for a drab, st. 76, p. 126. Then Wrath's contraries are dwelt-on in st. 80-1, p. 127, Chaucer's other 'vertue that men clepe pacience or sufferance' (*Remedium contra Iram*), being treated as two.

(4) *Sloth* or Idleness has no local colour.

Avarice (5) repeats Harrison's complaints in his *Description*, II. 18, p. 296, &c., how 'She raiseth cheape things to the highest price,' st. 90, p. 129, and specially 'engrosseth all the corne,' l. 547; and leads to Usury (Harrison, p. 242), the two making the proudest cavaliers stoop, and penning 'them vp within the Poultries coope,' in gaol, st. 94. Avarice too leads to landlords racking the rents of houses and lands, p. 130, of which Crowley, Harrison, my *Ballads from MSS.* i., the *Supplications* (E. E. Text Soc.), &c. &c., complain so bitterly.

Of *Gluttony* (6) Lane says, p. 131, that it is allied to Lechery and Drunkenness:—

¹ Compare Laneham with the Ladies, in his *Letter* of 1575, p. 60 of my ed.

² Compare Andrew Boorde, and Harrison's *Description*, II. vii, p. 167, &c. Also Stubbes.

³ Perhaps it's in the *Recueil de la Diversité des Habits*, Paris, 1562 (A. Boorde, p. 323).

Forewords. § 2. John Lane. § 3. Thomas Powell. xv

This trull makes youngsters spend their patrimonie 601
 In sauced meates and sugred delicates,
 And makes men stray from state of Matrimonie
 To spend their substance vpon whorish mates. 604

Under *Lechery*, the seventh and last Deadly Sin, Lane's stanza 109, p. 132, evidently alludes to Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*. He regrets the infection of the French disease, st. 110, p. 133, the wide-spread cuckoldry of his day, st. 113, and the 'light-taylde huswies' showing and vaunting themselves in (?) Shakspeare's Globe theatre, 'the Banke-sides round-house,' where in 1599—perhaps at its opening—he brought out his triumphant *Henry V*. Then Lane stops, not for want of further matter, st. 120, p. 135, but because his pen is dry. And he affirms, l. 713-14,

.... *Tom Telthroth* will not lie,
 We heere haue blaz'd Englands iniquitie.

(I pay for the present reprint of Lane and the extract from Pritchard or Rogers at the end of this volume.)

§ 3. Our third tract is by a reverencer of Bacon in his distress, a rollicking attorney and Welshman, Thomas Powell, who seems to have begun writing very bad serious poetry in 1598 and 1601, and then turnd to chaffing prose,—still intersperst with scraps of bad verse,—and divers professional handbooks, till he ended his career of authorship in 1631¹ with his *Tom of all Trades*, here reprinted.² My attention was first calld to the last-namd book during my inquiries into 'Education in Early England,'³ by Warton's extract from it in his *History of English Poetry*, § 58, vol. iv, p. 304, note 3, ed. Hazlitt.⁴

There being no copy of the first edition in the British Museum, and the second edition being conceald by its title, I waited till a visit to the Bodleian enabl'd me to read the book there; and I found it interesting enough to justify its reproduction here. As Powell was Shakspeare's contemporary, his account of how fathers then pusht their sons and daughters on in life, tho' not publisht till 1631,

¹ He may of course have seen through the press some of the later editions of his *Attourneys Academy*, &c.

² There may have been two Thomas Powells. But as the one of 1603-1631 had both a serious and a humorous style in his prose, and in his verse in his prose-books, I see no sufficient reason for supposing that he is not the serious-style verse-writer of 1598-1601.

³ See the Forewords to my *Babes Book*, E. E. Text Soc. 1868.

⁴ I have also had copied for the Society, Edward Hake's *Tuckstone for this time present*, 1574, for its bit about girls' education and amusements, partly quoted by Warton in the same note. But the rest of the book is preachy and dull.

covers Shakspeare's time, and enables us to realize a bit of his fellow countrymen's being. Our Member, Miss E. Phipson of Monk Sherborne, Basingstoke, kindly bears the cost of this Powell reprint.

Of Thomas Powell's first publication, *Loues Leprosie* (W. White, 1598), a quarto of ten leaves, only one copy is known, that of Mr Christie-Miller, at Britwell. It was reprinted by my friend Dr Rimbault for the Percy Society in his five "Ancient Poetical Tracts of the Sixteenth Century,"¹ reprinted from unique copies formerly in the possession of the late Thomas Caldecott, Esq." 1842. The poem is on the death of Achilles, through his love for Priam's daughter Polyxena. Here are three extracts from it, on that love, on Achilles's fight with Troilus, and on Achilles's death from the arrow shot into his only vulnerable spot, his heel:—

"Achilles loues Polyxene : What is shee ?
The lyuing daughter of his enemye.
How shall he woe her, that hath wed another ?
How shall he winne her, that hath slaine her brother ?
His trophees and his triumphes she doth hate ;
In Hectors death his vallor liued too late ;
Liue blest in this, that thow art Orpheus brother :
Hee none of thine, nor Thetis is his mother."—p. 71.

"Well mounted and well met, they ioyned together
Like flowdes, whose rushing, cause tempestuous weather ;
And now their clattering shildes resemble thunder ;
The fire, a lightning when the cloudes do sunder :
Long did it thunder ere the heavens were bright ;
So long, that when it cleered, the day was night ;
A night perpetuall vnto Priams sonne ;
His horse was slaine, the day was lost and won ;
And heere each one might heare windes whispering sound,
When earst the drums their senses did confound ;
Troilus dethe chiefe conquest from the felde ;
Wrapt in their colours, couered with their shielde,
They carry him to make the number more,
Whose bleeding sydes Achilles speare did gore."—p. 78.

"Foorthwith a marriage twixt them was concluded ;
Alas, that true loue should be so deluded !
The sunne is rose, sees Thetis sonne to fall
Vnder this false pretended nuptiall.
The Delphick oracle is now fulfild,
'Eare Troy be wonne, Achilles must be kilde.'

¹ 1. The Doctrinall of good Servauntes. 2. The Boke of Mayd Emlyn. 3. The New Nutbrowne Mayd. 4. The Complaynt of a dolorous Louer. 5. *Loues Leprosie*.

This is the day wherein they surfet all,
 With blood of his who made the Troians thrall;
 And this the day wherein he did appease
 Vnquiet soules, which earst could find no ease.
 This day was nyght to him, and day to those
 By whom vntimely death did heere repose.
 His liues familliar starre doth shoote and gall,
 The fairest starre the heauens weare gracte withall,
 Euen when his steppes salute the temple porch
 With hymmes, and Hymæn[e]us burning torch,
 A shaft from Paris hand did soone disclose
 Where Styx had kist him, and how high it rose.
 Where the Stygian flood did neuer reach,
 Deathes winged messenger did make a breach,
 Whence from each veine the sacred breath descending,
 Polyxens ioyes began, and his had ending.

Finis."

p. 79.

Powell's second book, I have not seen. Mr Hazlitt believes that the unique copy from Heber's sale is at Britwell, and gives it as

"The Passionate Poet. With a Description of the Thracian Iemarus. By T. P. London, printed by Valentine Simmes, dwelling on Adling hill, at the signe of the white Swanne. 1601. 4to. 26 leaves."

Of the third book, which is a very rare¹ black-letter quarto of 16 leaves, Mr Henry Huth has, with his unvarying kindness, lent me his copy. It is a tract written just before and just after Queen Elizabeth's death: 1. justifying the reasonableness of her dealing with Papists on the one hand, and Dissenters on the other (see the first two extracts on p. xviii, xix); 2. chaffily describing the effect produc't by the news of Elizabeth's death, the disturbances likely to arise from it, and the quieting of them by the happy proclamation of James I; 3. arguing that the Scotch and English are of like nature, and fit to form one nation; in this, the opposite of the author of *The Complaynt of Scotland*,² and too of Andrew Boorde with his "Trust yow no Skott, for they wyll yowse flatterying wordes; & all is falsholde:" see the amusing bits in my edition of Boorde (E. E. T. Soc.), p. 59, note 3, p. 135-8. The title of this third book is

¹ It was suppressed. Valentine Simmes was fined 13s. 4d. on Dec. 5, 1603, for printing it and a ballad. See p. 192, below.

² "there is nocht tua nations vndir the firmament that ar mair contrar and different fra vthirs, nor is inglis men and scottis men:" for, in short, the Englishmen are devils, and the Scotchmen are angels. But note Andrew Boorde's "Also it is naturally geuen, or els it is of a deuyllyshe dysposicion of a Scotysch man, not to loue nor fauour an Englyshe man." p. 137.

xviii Forewords. § 3. T. Powell's *Welch Bayte*.

A / WELCH BAYTE / to spare Prouender. / Or, / *A looking backe vpon the / Times past. / Written Dialogue wise. / This booke is diuided into three parts,* / The first, a briefe discourse of *Englands Securitie*, while her / late Maiestie was liuing, with the maner of her proceeding in / *Gouernment*, especially towards the Papists and Puritanes of / *England*, whereof a Letter written late before her death, speci-fies, as followeth in this first part. / The second, A description of the Distractions during her / *Maiesties sicknesse*, with the composing of them. / The third, Of the Aptnesse of the English and the Scotte to / incorporate and become one entire Monarchie : with the / meanes of preseruing their vnion euerlastingly, added there-/vnto. [*Scroll.*] Printed at London by Valentine Simmes. / 1603.

The extracts above refered to, p. xvii, on Elizabeth's treatment of Romanists and Dissenters follow :—

“But when about the twentieth yeare of hir raigne shee had discouered in the King of *Spaine* an intention to inuade hir dominions, and that a principall point of the plotte was to prepare a partie with in the realme that might adhere to the forreiner, and that the Seminaries began to blossome, and to send forth dayly, priests and professed men, who should, by vow taken at shrift, reconcile her subjects from their obedience, yea and binde many of them to attempt against her Maiesties sacred person, and that by the poyson which they spred, the humors of most *Papists* were altered, and that they were no more *Papists* in conscience and of Softenes, but *Papists* in faction; then were there newe lawes made for the punishment of such as should submitte them selues to such reconcilements or renuntiatiions of obedience; And because it was a treason carried in the clowdes and in wonderfull secrecie, and came seldome to light, and that there was no presumption thereof so great as the recusancie to come to diuine seruice: Because it was sette downe by their decrees, That, *To come to Church before reconcilment, was to liue in schisme*; But, *To come to Church after reconcilment, was absolutely hereticall and damnable*,

Therefore there were added Lawes containing punishment *pecuniarie* against such Recusants, not to enforce consciences, but to enfeeble and impouerish the meanes of those of whom it rested indifferent and ambiguous, whether they were reconciled, or no.

And when, notwithstanding all this prouision, this poyson was dispersed so secretly, as that there was no meanes to stay it but by restraining the Merchants that brought it in,

Then lastly, was there added a Lawe whereby such seditious priests of the new erection were exiled; and those that were at that time within the land shipped ouer, and so commanded to keepe hence, vpon paine of treason.

[sign. B 4, bk]

This hath beene the proceeding, though intermingled,

not only with sundrie examples of hir Maiesties grace towards such as in her wisdom she knewe to be *Papists* in Conscience, and not in Faction and Singularity; but also with an ordinarie mitigation towards the offenders in the highest degree conuicted by lawe: If they would but protest, that if in case this realme should be inuaded with a forreine armie by the Popes authoritie, for the Catholique cause, (as they terme it) they would take part with hir Maiestie, and not adhere to hir enemies.

For the other part which haue bin offensiuie to the State, though in other degree, which name themselues *Reformers*, and we commonly call *Puritanes*; this hath bin the proceeding towards them.

A great while when they inueighed against such abuses in the Church, as *Pluralities*, *Nonresidence* & the like; their zeale was not condemned, only their violence was sometimes censured.

When they refused the vse of some ceremonies and rites, as superstitions, they were tollerated with much conniueance, and gentlenes: Yea, when they called in question the Superioritie of Bishops, and pretended to bring a *Democracie* into the church; Yet, their Propositions were heard, considered, and by contrarie writing, debated, and discussed. Yet all this while, it was perceiued that their course was dangerous, and very popular; as, because *Papistris* was odious, therefore it was euer in their mouthes, that they sought to purge the Church from the reliques of *Papistris*; a thing acceptable to the people, who loue euer to run from one extreame, to another.

Because multitude of Rogues, and Pouertie were an eye-soare, and dislike to euerie man, therefore they put it into the peoples head: That, if Discipline were planted, there should be no vagabonds, nor beggers (a thing very plausible,) and in like manner, they promised the people many other impossible wonders of their Discipline.

Besides, they opened the people a way to gouernment by their *Consistorie*, and *Præsbyterie*, a thing though in consequence no lesse præiudiciall to the liberties of priuate men, then to the souerainty of Princes, yet in first shew very popular. Neuerthelesse all this (except it were in some few that entered into extreame contempts) was borne, because they pretended but in dutifull maner to make propositions, and to leaue it to the prouidence of God, and the authoritie of the Magistrate.

But now of late yeares, when there issued from them, as it were a Colonie of those that affirmed the consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended; when vnder pretence of a confession, to auoide slaunders and imputations, they combined themselues by classes and subscriptions; when they descended into that vile & base meanes of defacing the gouernment of the Church by ridiculous *Pusquils*¹; When they beganne to make many subiects in doubt to

¹ The Martin Marprelate controversy began in 1589.

xx Forewords. § 3. Powell and Lord Southampton.

take an oath, which is one of the fundamentall parts of Iustice in this Land and in all places ; When they beganne both to vaunt of the strength and number of their partizans, and followers, and to vse communications that their cause would preuaile, though with vproare and violence ; Then it appeared to be no more zeale, no more conscience, but meere faction and deuision : And therefore though the State was compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restraîne them then before, yet it was with as great moderation as the peace of the Church & State could permitte.

And therefore, Sir, (to conclude,) consider vprightly of these matters, and you shall see her Maiestie is no temporizer in religion ; she builds not religion vpon policie, but policie vpon religion ; It is not the successe abroade, nor the change of seruants here at home can alter her ; onely as the things themselues alter, so she applieth hir religious wisdom to correspond vnto them, still retaining the two rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with consciences, & yet in discouering Faction from Conscience, & Softnes from Singularity. Farewell.

Your louing friend
T. P."

The *Welch Bayte* is dedicated by Powell to Shakspeare's patron, Lord Southampton, but oddly makes no allusion to that Lord's being set free from the Tower on James I.'s accession. He was committed there for his share in Essex's rebellion in Feb. 1600-1. Perhaps lines 2 and 4 below mean that his committal was unjust.

[sign. A, back] A Prelude vppon the name of
Henry VVriothlesly *Earle of*
South-hampton.

Euer.

WHoso beholds this Leafe, therein shall reede,
A faithfull subiects name, he shall indeede ;
The grey-eyde morne in noontide clowdes may steepe,
But traytor and his name shall neuer meete.

Neuer.

[sign. A 2] To the right Honorable *Henry Wri-*
othlesly *Earle of* South-hampton
Baron of Tichfield : and of the No-
ble Order of the Garter.

L Et golden artists practice quaint imposture,
And study to a semblance of perfection,
Let Leopers sweate to shew the world their moisture,
We study not to Patrones for direction :

*Vnlesse the Honor that my lines shall owe,
Can both protect vs, and approoue them too.*

*And such is thine, whose beames of Patronage
Doe heate alike in Iudgement, and in blood,
Both, with pure fires deri'd from parentage,
Preserued in the Arke of Fortunes flood,
When Neptune, and the sea gods did abette,
With Cynthia in her fullest veines aspect.*

*Thou wholesome Honour, Chaste Nobilitie,
Be in protection mine, as Generous,
Without distent though all thy auncestrie :
It was thy wont, Thou canst not erre in vs :
And for the Test sufficeth me to know ;
Thy Iudgement best deserues my lines to owe.*

Your Lordshippes
In all the nerues of my ability,
Tho : Powell.

At the end of the *Welch Bayte* are 8 lines of verse 'To the vnpareld blesst disposition, *The Lady Elizabeth Bridges*'; two 6-line stanzas 'To the noble Gentleman, Sir Thomas Kneuet'; and one stanza of 6 'To the Right Worshipfull Sir Edward Dyer.' The book's signatures are A 1. 2; B, C, D, in fours, E 1, 2.

Though Powell's notions of girls' education are not ours,

"Instead of songes and musicke, let them learne cookerie and laundrie : And instead of reading in Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, let them reade the *Groundes of good Huswifery*. I like not a female poetesse at any hand":

yet no doubt Mrs Wm Shakspeare shar'd them. Powell was a practical, sharp, business man, with a gift of racy speech. He was evidently a searcher of Records—see his book on them, and his advice to a father, p. 143 below, and specially his proposal to search the Wills Office for grants to charitable uses. I hope his readers will take to him somewhat.

The fourth book of Powell's was a professional one of 78 pages whose title is overleaf :—

DIRECTION FOR SEARCH OF RECORDS

Remaining
in the { CHANCERIE,
TOWER,
EXCHEQUER, with the *Limnes*
thereof: viz.

The	{	Kings <i>Remembrancer</i> .	{	The	<i>First Fruits</i> .
		Lord Treasurers <i>Re-</i>			Augmentation of the
		<i>membrancer</i> .			<i>Reuenue</i> .
		Clarke of the <i>Ex-</i>			Kings <i>Bench</i> .
		<i>treats</i> .			Common <i>Pleas</i> .
		<i>Pipe</i> .			Records of Courts
		<i>Auditors</i> .			<i>Christian</i> .

For the clearing of all such *Titles*, and *Questions*,
as the same may concerne.

With the accustomed Fees of Search : And
diuerse necessarie Obseruations.

Cui Author

THOMAS POWELL, *Londino-*
Cambrenfis.

— — — *Cum tonat ocyus Ilex*
Sulphure discutitur sacro, quam tuque, domusque.

LONDON,

Printed by B. A. for *Paul Man*, and are to be sold
at his Shop in *Chancerie Lane*, at the Signe of the
Bowle ; or in *Distaffe Lane*, at the Signe
of the *Dolphin*. 1622.

Forewords. § 3. Powell's *Lending & Borrowing*. xxiii

Powell's fifth book is a merry one of 34 leaves :

Wheresoeuer you see mee, / Trust vnto your selfe. / Or, / THE MYSTERIE / OF LENDING / AND / BORROWING. / *Seria Focis* : / Or, / The Tickling Torture. /—*Dum rideo, veh mihi risu.* / By THOMAS POVVEL, / London-Cambrian. / [4 bits of old ornament.] LONDON, / Printed for *Beniamin Fisher*, and are / to be sold at his shop in *Pater-noster-row*, / at the signe of the *Talbot*. / 1623

It is a chaffy rollicking description of the different kinds of Borrowers—Courtier, Inns-of-Court man, Country Gentleman, and Citizen—and Lenders, Debtors' places of refuge, and debtors' shifts to avoid payment. (For the 2nd edition, see below, p. xxvi.)

Here is the beginning of how the Courtier handles the Citizen he wants to borrow money of, p. 3 :—

“ The Courtiers method followes.

First he invites his Creditor, to a dish of Court-Ling, with Masculine mustard plenty.

Then shewes him the priuie lodgings and the new banquetting house.

Perhaps the Robes next.

Then the great Magolls tent in the Wardrobe : And so much serues for the first meeting, and to procure an appetite to the second.

To the second Meeting our Creditor, is summoned, and brings behinde him his wife, like to a broken wi. .er glasse bottle hanging at his taile, and enters into the Masking roome.

Whereat the Courtiers skill in deliuering of the Maskers names, vnder their seuerall disguises, did purchase an euerlasting and indissoluble citie-consanguinitie with his female charge, ouer whom, the more sleepy hir spouse, the more vigilant was my cousen courtier.

And now he hath made his partie strong enough to visit my citizen, and to borrow and take vp of him at his own home, in the most familiar phrase that can bee deuised for such like vse and purpose.

Then for the quickning, continuing, and enlarging of his credit, our Courtier pretends how he has receiued newes that his feign'd kined is very sicke ; and thereupon a takes occasion (in stead of venison) to send her a bottle of that famous and farre fetcht *frontineack* : He bids himselfe to dinner the same day, and there in a cursorie way of commending the art of man, in matter of Manufacture, he falls by chance vpon the remembrance of an extraordinarie stuffe, which hee saw a great personage weare lately in Court, not doubting but that his cousens [the Creditor or citizen's] shop did afford the like : His purpose was to haue a suit of the same very shortly, if they would but lay it by for him till his moneyes came in : Yet with a very little intreaty so cleanly exprompted, he

xxiv Forewords. § 3. Powell's *Attourneys Academy*.

was persuaded to take it along with him, but onely for feare lest the whole peece might be sold by the foolish foreman vnawares before his returne.

Giue vs old Ale, and booke it,
O giue vs old Ale, and booke it :
And when you would haue your money for all,
My cousen may chance to looke it."

This larky book of Powell's was followd by his sober sixth :—

The / Attourneys Academy : / or, / The Manner and / forme of proceeding practically, vpon / any Suite, Plaint, or Action whatsoever, in any / Court of Record whatsoever, within / this Kingdome : / especially, / in the Great Courts at / *Westminster*, to whose motion all other Courts of / Law or Equitie ; as well those of the two Pro-/uinciall Counsailes, Those of Guild-Hall / *London* ; as Those of like Cities / and Townes Corporate, And / all other of Record are diur-/nally moued : / *With the Moderne and most vsuall Fees of the* / Officers and Ministers of such Courts. / Published by his Maiesties special priuledge, / and / Intended for the publike benefit of all / His Subiects. / *Summum hominis bonum, bonus ex hac vita exitus.* / Tho : Powell / *Londino-Cambrensis.* / *London*, / Printed for *Beniamin Fisher* : and are to be sold at his / Shop in *Pater-noster* Row, at the signe of the / *Talbot* : 1623.

This is a regular Attorney's Handbook, dedicated to the "Lord Bishop of Lincolne, and Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England," and with a second dedication which does credit to Powell :—

"To / trve Nobilitie / and tryde Learning, / beholden / To no Mountaine for Eminence / nor Supportment for his Height, / Francis, Lord *Verulam*, and / Viscount S^r *Albanes*.

O Giue me leaue to pull the Curtaine by,
That clouds thy Worth in such obscuritie,
Good *Seneca*, stay but a while thy bleeding,
T'accept what I receiued at thy reading :
Heere I present it in a solemne straine,
And thus I pluckt the Curtaine backe again.

The same

THOMAS POWELL."

There were later editions in 1630, 1647, &c. Then came in 1627, Powell's seventh book, a professional one in 72 leaves :

The / Attornies / Almanacke, / Provided / & / desired / For the generall ease and daily vse of all / such as shall haue occasion to remoue any / Person, Cause or record, from an / inferiour Court to any the / higher Courts at / *Westminster*. / By THOMAS POWELL. / *Summum hominis bonum, bonus ex hac vita / exitus.*

Forewords. § 3. Powell's *Repertorie of Records*. xxv

London. / Printed by B. A. and T. F. for *Ben: Fisher*, and are to / be sold at his Shop at the signe of the *Talbot* without / *Aldersgate*. 1627.

Next appeard, in 1631, his eighth book, to which he did not put his name, as not half of it was his own work. The title is given by Mr Hazlitt in his *Collections and Notes*, 1876,¹ as

"The Repertorie of Records: remaining in the 4. Treasuries on the Receipt side at Westminster [and] the two Remembrancers of the Exchequer. With a briefe introductiue Index of the Records of the Chancery and Tower: whereby to giue the better Direction to the Records abouesaid. As also a most exact Calendar of all those Records of the Tower: in which are containd and comprised whatsoeuer may giue satisfaction to the Searcher for Tenure or Tytle of any thing. London, Printed by B. Alsop and F. Fawcet for B. Fisher, &c. 1631.

4to, A—Ee in fours, first leaf blank."

"Dedicated in verse 'To the Vnknowne Patron,' which is followed by a leaf with a somewhat enigmatical heading 'To the same Patron the great Master of this Myserie Our Author payeth this in part of a more Summe due.' There is also a prose address to the Reader, in which Powell gives some account of the circumstances attending the publication."

Powell says he first thought of dedicating his book to Mercurie, who'd inspir'd him to write a bit of verse again, but as he can't find a Patron, he dedicates it to an unknown one, whom Mercury is to find out. The address to the Reader follows:—

To the Reader.

I T may be objected vnto me, that the collation of these things, is not all made vp and digested into this fabrique of mine owne materials and structure, and I doe ingenuously confesse it: Seeing the *Four* Treasuries [p. 17—120] were collected by Mr. *Agard*, his priuate notes, a man very industrious and painfull in that kind²; and one who had continual recourse vnto the most, & custody of many of the rest of the same: And the latter Callender of the Records of the Tower [p. 211—217], came to my hands from an Author vnknowne, euen as the Printer was drawing the last sheet of the precedent worke from the Presse. I was content to giue it wharfage, and to let it be layd on shore with the rest, but very vnwillingly; because I had no conuenient roome left where to dispose it, without blaming of my Methode, in that it was not layd

¹ Mr Hazlitt also notes that "Verses signed *T. P.* are attached to Ford's *Fames Memoriall*, 1606."

² See his collections in the Public Record Office.—F.

in his proper place, with the rest, that is, vnder the Title of the Tower, in the first Station : whereof I hope an equall censure, ever resting

Sub rostro Cycani.

The book is a 4to of 217 pages, besides Title and four pages of dedication, and describes where the Records are, what bundles of them, &c. are in the several rooms, and what Countries and places some of them refer to. Here's a short extract :—

"And now to the foure Treasuries.

The first is, the Treasurie of the Court of Receipt. In which are Two of the ancientest Bookes of Records in this Kingdome : made in William the Conquerours time, called *Doomes-day*.

The one Booke in Quarto, containing the Description or Suruey of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolke.

The other in Folio, being the like, for all the Shires in England, from Cornwall, to the Riuer of Tyne.

Here is a Booke called the blacke Booke, made in Henry the seconds time, *De necessarijs Sca[ca]rij observandis* : And in the same, are the Oathes and Admittances of Officers inrolled, and other Notes of some consequence." [and so on].

This was followd by his 9th work, the last I find under his name, his *Tom of all Trades* printed below, p. 137—175. In 1635 came out a second edition of both his *Tom of all Trades* and earlier *Mysteries of Lending and Borrowing*, in one little volume with the following title, no doubt written by himself :—

The Art of Thriving. / Or, / The plaine pathway to / Preferment. / Together with / The Myserie and Misery / of Lending and Borrowing. Consider it seriously. / Examine it judiciously. / Remember it punctually. / And thrive accordingly. / [by Thos. Powell, Gent. in MS.] Published for the common / good of all sorts &c / London, / Printed by T. H. for Benjamin / Fisher, and are to be solde at his shop / at the signe of the Talbot in Alders-/gate street. 1635. [120 pages : at p. 121 a fresh title,]

The / Mistery / and / Misery / of / Lending / and / Borrowing / By / Tho : Powel, Gent. / London : / Printed by Thomas Harper for / Benjamin Fisher, and are to be / sold at his shop in Alders-/gate / streete at the signe of the / Talbot. 1636. [p. 121—254.]

Of the Sir Edward Hales whom Powell praises so warmly in his Dedication to his *Tom of all Trades*, the Rev. W. S. Scott Robertson of Sittingbourne sends me the following account :

"Sir Edward Hales was the first of his name at Tunstall.¹ He

¹ "I come now to speak of the Hales, present lords of Tunstall, a family of

was originally of Tenterden, but marrying the Harlackenden heiress, of Woodchurch, he removed to her seat. He was created a baronet in 1611. After the death of his first wife he married the widow (*née* Martha Carew) of Sir James Cromer of Tunstall, and removed thither. Sir James Cromer died in 1613, and left no son. One of his three daughters, Christian, the youngest, who inherited Tunstall, married Sir Edward Hales's eldest son John, and thus the Hales family became fixed at Tunstall. John Hales died in his father's lifetime, but his son Edward,¹ who was born about 1626, ultimately succeeded his grandfather Sir Edward.

"The first baronet, with whom your author Thomas Powell was so pleased, died in 1654, and was buried in Tunstall Church. The present representative of the family is Miss Hales of Hales Place, Canterbury, whose name figured in the statements of the claimant to the Tichborne estates. She has very recently sold her Tunstall property."

great antiquity; but as their interest here is not of so long standing, I shall go no higher than the last century, beginning with

"*Sir Edward Hales*, Knight, who was advanced to the dignity of a baronet 1611; he served in several parliaments, and took part with those that raised the rebellion against king Charles I. He died October 6th, 1634, aged 78.* This is he for whom the noble monument in Tunstall church was erected with his effigies in full proportion cut in marble. His wives were Deborah, da. and heir of Martin Lackenden of Woodchurch, Esq., and Martha the relict of Sir James Crowmer.

"*John*, the eldest son of Sir Edward, by Deborah his first lady, married Christian, the youngest of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir James Crowmer aforesaid; and by this marriage was Tunstall brought into the family of Hales. This John died in the life-time of his father, and left issue *Sir Edward Hales*, baronet, a zealous royalist, who in his younger years risked his person and fortune in the cause, insomuch that he was forced to abscond and live beyond the seas on account of the great debts he had contracted for the king's service. He died in France some years after the Restoration." From the 'History and Antiquities of Tunstall in Kent.' By Ed. Rowe Mores, printed in Nichols's *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, vol. i. pp. 33, 34. (Mores died in 1778, this History was published in 1780.)

"This Sir Edward Hales was a commissioner for the survey of Aldington in 1608, Sheriff of Kent in a year between 1611 and 1620, and M.P. for Kent in a Parliament preceding the Long Parliament."—Furley's *History of the Weald of Kent*, Ashford, 1874, vol. ii. Pt. II. pp. 522, 602.

¹ Sir Edward Hales, the third of that name, but the first baronet, of Tenterden, Kent, was knighted, and on June 29, 1611, was created a Baronet. He was twice married, first to Deborah, only daughter and heir of Martin Herlackenden of Woodchurch, Esq., by whom he had issue four sons, viz. John his eldest son,

* See the cp. ded. to Powell's *Tom of all Trades*. Lond. 1631, 4to.

§ 4. The last piece in the present volume, "*The Glasse of Godly Loue*, Wherein all married couples may learne their duties, each toward others, according to the holy Scriptures,"—I was tempted to add because it made a kind of Appendix to the *Tell-troth* tract of 1593, and because it was part of a thin treatise belonging to me, that Mr Hazlitt believes to be unique, but which is unluckily imperfect. It is undated, but is printed by Richard Jones, who took up his freedom of the Stationers' Company on the 7th of August 1564 (Arber's *Transcript*, I. 278), had one press in May 1583 (ib. 248), and printed till 1600. Whether the *Glasse* is by Thomas Pritchard,¹ the writer of the first part of the volume, or I[ohn] R[ogers] who seems to have written the second part, I cannot tell. It follows the I. R. Discourse. The title-page of Pritchard's tract is on p. xxix, opposite.

§ 5. I have now but to thank the Librarian of Peterborough Cathedral for trusting his unique 1593 *Tell-troth* to me; Mr Henry Huth for his loan of Powell's *Welch Bayte*; Mr W. G. Stone of Walditch for so kindly making the Contents, Notes, and Index to this volume; Miss E. Phipson for paying for *Tom of all Trades*, and our friend who hides his name, for his gift of the first *Tell-troth* reprint.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3, *St. George's Square, London, N.W.*
July 11, 1876.

who married Christian one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Jas. Cromer, knt., and in her right became possessed of the manor of Tunstall and other large estates, and died in his [father's] life-time; his other children were Edward, Samuel, Thomas, and a da. Christian. His second wife was Martha, da. of Sir Mathew Carew, and relict of Sir Jas. Cromer. He died Oct. 6, 1654, in his 78th year, is buried in Tunstall Church. His grandson Edward (son of his eldest son John) succeeded him; this Edward was about 13 years of age at his father's death in 1639. "He succeeded his grandfather in title and estate in 1654; but being most zealously attached to the royal cause, he risked his fortune as well as his person, in the support of it; by which means he ruined the former, and was obliged on that account to abandon his native country, to which he never afterwards returned, but died in France soon after the restoration of K. Charles II." He was one of the three who escaped with James II. in 1688. Abstract taken from Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. ii. p. 576.

¹ On '1628, July 9, Thom. Prichard of Jesus College,' Oxford, was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*, pt. 1 (*Athenæ*, vol. ii.), col. 443, ed. Bliss. But I do not suppose that this is our T. Pritchard.

XXIX

THE SCHOOLE

of honest and vertuous lyfe :

Profitable and necessary for
all estates and degrees, to be trayned in :
but (cheefely) for the pettie Schollers, the
yonger sorte, of both kindes, bee they men or
Women. by T. P.

Also, a laudable and learned
Discourse, of the worthynesse of hono-
rable Wedlocke, written in the be-
halfe of all (aswell) Maydes as Wydowes,
(generally) for their singuler instructi-
on, to choose them vertuous and honest

Husbandes :

But (most specially) sent writtē as a Jewell
vnto a worthy Gentlewoman, in the
time of her widowhood, to direct & guide
her in the new election of her seconde
Husband. By her approoued freend and
kinfemen. I. R.

Imprinted at London by

Richard Iohnes, and are to
be solde at his shop ouer against S. Sepul-
chers Church without Newgate.

100

Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift

Being

Robin Good-fellowes newes out of those Countries, where inhabites neither Charity nor honesty.

With his owne Inuectiue against Ielosy.



L O N D O N

Imprinted by Robert Bourne.

1 5 9 3 .





Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift.

[sig. A 2]



Marry, sir, now you looke as if you expected newes: me thinks I see your eares open to heare what Robin good fellow will tel you; & because your desire shal not be altogether frustrate, you shal, if you will, be somewhat the wifer before you goe. I am assured it is not stale; and were you as long in reading of it, as the Senators haue bene in agreeing vppon it, I know you would craue many baetes before you had passed the mainger. But behold, they had the paine, and you may haue the pleasure; and I am glad that it was my fortune to meete with it; and doubtlesse it was a great hassard, that a worser carrier had not hapned on it. For thus it fel out: walking towards Islington in a frosty morning, I by chaunce lighted into the company of a boone companion, that seemed no lesse pleasing in shew, then he prooued in substance. A merry mate hee was, and matched with one of his owne minde, a simple fellow, that marchinge vnder the habbite of true meaninge, tels all that he sees, and every thing he thinkes to be true: *Tell-troth* is my name, and you may trust me if you will, for I assure you, that he that crediteth me most, shall not speede worst. We two matches mated by good fortune, *Robin good-fellow* the one, who neuer did worse harme then correct manners, and made diligent maides: and I, *Tell troth*, the other, who euer haue beene a sworne enemy to lasye lurdens, and a professed foe to *Iack No-body*: no sooner settinge our eyes, the one on the other, but knew each others conditions, falling forthwith into familiarity. And it being my hap to enquire first from whence hee came, hee made it not scrupulous to certifie his comming from hell, a place (sayde hee) that is odious, and yet to none but to them that feare it: Mary (qd. hee) *Robin good-fellow*, that could go inuisible from ¹his infancy, had it by nature giuen

[¹ sig. A 2,
back]

him, that he should bee subiect to no inferiour power whatsoeuer, either ruling or inhabiting vnder the higheft elemente, with a generall priuiledge to searck euery corner, and enter any castell to a good purpose. By libertye of which pattente, I crossed the riuer *Stix* in *Carons* boat without his leaue, giuinge him a patt on his drowfie pate for my passage. And from him vnkowne, I came to *Cerberus* (that Lubberly Porter), who was makinge faste of the brand gates, which were faine to bee opened, that the greate *Magog* with his companye that were summoned to the Parliamente, might enter without interruption. He heard my trampling, and therefore asked who was there? but when I would not aunfweare, he thought it was *Lelaps* his curre, bidding him to lie downe, and so likewise I easely entred the dungion. To tell what I there saw, were no newes: becaufe it hath benee tolde by so many, whereof soome of them haue not reported amisse. But going on to the mercilesse pallace, the gates stoode wide open, so that any might enter ther without controlement. With in the great Hall whereof, were assembled the whole society of bad company, a generall conuocation beeing called about the deciding of many matters which were not altogether perfected. There was a greate thronge, and no little sturre, the feuerall billes of complainte which were there exhibited of many matters, beeing so many, as they would require an age to rehearse them, especially seeing this one matter wherof my newes consisteth, was a hearing and deciding seauen yeares.

But to come to the matter, all the worst diuels being placed in their orders according to their custome (which is needlesse to set downe, for that I hope there is none heere that euer meane to be partakers of any of their Offices) the Speaker vttered an Oration that would haue made a mastie to haue broke his collar with girning thereat, declaringe what a continuall profite Ielofie, aboue all other vices, brought to that place, praisinge so highly the commodity thereof as, in his diuelish iudgement, hell would be passinge beggerly without that helpe. Manifestinge how easely mens and womens mindes were drawn to all corruption thereby, with such a dilatinge narration as neuer an Orator in hell could haue spoken more. After the finishinge of whose fustie framed speech, there was a quest of enquiry called, whose forman deliuered a whole bundell of scroles and papers,

wherein were sett downe the causes that helped Ielofie, with the meanes that hindered the same, as also the kindes thereof, with feuerall complaints made both by men and women that were vexed with the like. The which I will, quoth Robin, deliuer vnto thee if thou so wilt: whereof, I beeing wonderfull desirous, for *Mens hominis nouitatis auida*, hee went on with it as followeth.

The first cause (quoth he) is a constrained loue, when as parentes do by compulsion couple two bodies, neither respecting the ioyning of their hartes, nor hauinge any care of the continuance of their wellfare, but more regarding the linking of wealth and money together, then of loue with honesty: will force affection without liking, and cause loue with Ielofie. For either they marry their children in their infancy, when they are not able to know what loue is, or else matche them with inequallity, ioyning burning sommer with kea-cold winter, their daughters of twentye yeares olde or vnder, to rich cormorants of threecore or vpwards. Whereby, either the dislike that likely growes with yeares of discretion engendereth disloyalty in the one, or the knowledge of the others disability leads him to Ielofie.

What is the cause of so many houholde breaches, deuorcements, and continuall discontentmentes, but vnnatural disagreementes by vnmutuall contractes? Will the Turtel change while her mate is true, or the Swanne be cruell as long as his female is loyall? If there be disloyalty betweene mates linked by their owne election (as doubtlesse there is), how can vnconstancy be condemned in those that neuer had that liberty? were the hart as subiect to the law as the body is, I would thinke such marriages lawfull, but since the one hath liberty, when the other is in captiuity, I know, *Tell troth*, (quoth *Robin*) it will not cease to seeke reuenge for his bodies flauery, vnlesse grace correcteth, by shewing what the law of God forbiddeth. Pretious iewels are chofen, and deere things loued; but at what price are those rated at which are easely obtained? Doubtlesse at so low a reckoning as pipple stones are, in comparison of pearles; the one had without cost or trauell, and the other not to be obtained without both. A lesson learned with stroakes, staies with the scholler, when a sentence read without regarde, is not so soone in at one eare, as out at the other: And loue gained with fighes &

Parents
[f]orced loue
a cause of
ielosy.

Rob. Goo[d-]
fellows
digres-
sion. The
natu[re] of
the Sw[anne]
is, that at
such time[as]
he sees an
vnconstan[t]
tricke to b[e]
perfourme[d]
by his
fem[ale,]
he neuer
[t sig. A 3,
back]

s the
Swan
commit
the fault
her vn-
e hath
d him &
he bee-
laine, he
es the
with
his own
e.

flighthes encreaseth, when obtained otherwise, it soone decayeth. *Durum pati meminisse dulce*, & an ounce of pleasure stolne with feare of a pound of vnrest, makes vs still to thinke on the sweetenesse of loue, and all wayes to be struiuing to continue it, when the contrary will procure lighte regarde thereof. How farre more delightfome is stolne venison to him that hath inough, then his owne? And how pleafant is that meat in taste which is dainty? Things farre fetchte and deere boughte, are good for Ladies: and trifles will often better content then treasure. The Diuels crye for mislike, but who beares the brunt of it? The feete that flie from it, not the head that bredd the baite; the man can prouide for himselfe, when the poore woman is voide of all succour, and he will haue a cloake to hide his misery when she shall want a cap to couer her.¹ extremitye. She must beare the lumpes and lowres; if happily she escapes the blowes, the biting² woordes, if not worse, euen cruell hart-breakinges and back-beatinges. Thus shall the Fathers couetuousnes be cause of the childes vndooing, and his harts-ease beginning of her woe, and ende of her happinesse: his likinge meeting with her loathing, which shall vndoe her by Ielowfy. Hath God by an instinct of nature ingrafted loue so farre forth in vnreasonable creatures, as they doo not onely choofe their mates (as all creatures doe), but liue faithfullye to them, and constantly with them, so longe as life endureth; and shall that priuledge be taken from man-kinde, whome onely he hath endowed with reason and discretion? The birdes bringe vpp the yong, vntill they can shift for themselues, and then giues them leaue to vse their liberty: the beastes of the feldes haue the selfe³ same freedome, and the fishes in the Sea, no other restrainte; onely man is iniurious vnto himselfe, by vnnaturall vsage of his deereft blood. They care for their children vntill they be past care: and euen then themselues freed from that charge, they bring their young ones to a greater crosse: geuing them sorrow for their pleasure, and vnrest in ffeede of hartes ease. They doe not matche them with the mates their childrens eies haue chofen, but with the men their owne greedy desire haue found out: little fore-thinking of their childrens after-greeuinge, and their owne repenting. They regard not now a dayes the old sayinge of the wise man, *I had rather haue a man then mony*, but testify by their doinges that they esteeme more of wealth then of

[¹ orig. his]

[² orig. biting.]

[³ leaf A 4]

Men [make]
themselves
vnnatur[all]
to their [child-]
dren by
t[heir]
matches

humanity. They forget what themselves haue beene, and will not remember what themselves haue done. Their coueteousnesse choaketh their charity, and their worldly care keepeth em¹ for knowinge diuinity. They abhorre and grow mad to heare their children entreat for the maides that please them, or for the men their soules loue, but tirant like they say, *sic volo sic iubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas*: I like him, and thou shalt haue him; loue this man or I will loath thee. This effecte hath coueteousnesse in the father; and beholde what discontentment it worketh in the childe.

He or shee by duty is bound to their Parentes commaundement, and for feare of their displeasure are linked to continuall misery. What faith the husband to the wife, but, this was thy fathers worke, to winne me by his mony; and since hee hath his will with the want of my weale, I wil not liue alone in sorrow, but² will make thee taste of the same sauce. Thy Father hath his, and why should I not haue mine? So faith he, and so fareth shee: hee inuents meanes to make her mourne, and leaues no practise vntried, which is like to procure her misery. They liue in one house, as two ennemies lie in the field: their habitation being seuered, like twoo camps that bee ready for battell. Hauocke is made lauiſhly, of that their fathers gathered corruptly, that either being spent lasciuiously in the company of stran³gers, or licentiously in controuersies at law. So great⁴ mischief ariseth of coueteousnesse in matches of matrimonye. Touching the saluing of which fore, it is most requisite that the children should haue their free liberty in liking, as the fathers haue had theirs in chooſing. For as those matches are best, wher there is a mutuall agreement betweene parentes and their children, so do those for the most part loue best, that haue the priuiledge of chooſing for themselves. My cheefest reason may bee drawne from contentment in loue, which is satisfied with any thinge, according to the saying, *Loue hath no lacke*; and my old lesson, *Selfe do, selfe haue*, makes the patient often not to complaine of a great sore, when an other will cry out for no harme. Experience hath best displayed it to some: and common reason cannot but make it knowne to all. For who that hath done him selfe an iniury will complaine thereof, for feare of beeing⁵ accompted a foole? Or what woman that hath burnt her finger will blame others for the deede done by her selfe?

[¹ orig.
keepe them.
for = from.]

[² orig. but]

[³ an- orig.
au-]
[⁴ leaf A 4,
back]

[⁵ acc- orig.
arc-]

You might haue tooke better heede, and It was your owne fault, are two shrode plaisters for a greene wound: and the minds of men are best pleased with their owne thoughts, & women with nothing more contented then to haue their willes. When a woman distrustes of any helpe to come from any part-taker, shee will bee glad to please hir husband, & they two falling foorth, she (hauing none to maine-taine her in her pride) will bee contented to reconcile her selfe vnto him by kinde submission. And where a louing kisse will saue a great deale of cost, if there it bee not vsed, mony cannot be better bestowed then in buying wit to saue the next charges. But how now, *Robin*! thou hast beene ouer longe in thy digression. I haue indeede, and therefore, friend *Tell-troth*, I returne to my matter.

Indiscreete
gouernment
the second
cause of
Ielosy.

[¹ sig. B]

A second cause of Ielosy springeth from indiscretion in gouernment, which is either in one or both of them *that* are linked together in mariage, neither of them hauing reason to knowe what belongs to either, or neither of them discretion rightly to correct what is amiss in either. Loue will bee too wanton vlesse he be whipped with rushes, and ouer dull if his winges be clipped; giue him his liberty, and he will runne at randum; ¹ shut him vp in prison, and he will be starke mad; so that gentle correction must barre his liberty, and mild chastisement preuent his madnesse; a wanton tounge bewraies a lasciuious hart, and by the vttraunce of the tounge, wicked thoughts are manifested; therefore, either to gaze lasciuiously, or to speake wantonly, may moue Iellosy. Modesty in a young woman is as a garland of wheat in a ioyfull haruest; and discretion in a man like an oliue braunch after long discention: she honoureth her husband with a signe of happinesse, and he contentes his wife with a pledge of loue; by his wisdome hee teacheth her knowledge, and by her obedience she makes him glad; his correction is as a warme cup of drinke to a cold stomake, and her reformation as a sonne-shine daye after much raine. Peace flourisheth where wisdome ruleth, and ioy raigneth where modesty directeth. To please the harte of a husbande, is to ioyne vnity with the whole world; and to be in the loue and fauour of a wife is a freedome from much care; wisdome therefore in men to gouerne their common wealths, and modestie in women, are of no small meanes to continue vnity, and destroy Iellosy.

Another cause is causelesse discontentment, when the man will lowre without occasion, and the woman fret, not knowing any reason, and especially when either of them wil oppose them selues against other, and both of them maintaine their hartes pride: when a man will finde fault without cause, or a woman complaine of two much ease, it shoves a troubled minde and breeds suspect. He that cannot be merry at home, goes about to perswade hee will be mad abroad; and shee that lowers on her husband when he comes home, shoves she had as liue haue his roome as his company: where loue is, there is no thought of battell; and there, what absence hath hurt, preface will heale. A kind and louing wife forgetteth all vnkindnesse by the sight of her best beloued, as a child doth the correction of his mother by the receipt of an apple from her; and a discrete husband is no longer displeased then a fault is a doing. Contentment is an excellent sauce to eury dish, and pleasantnesse a singuler portion to preuent mischiefe: the head is neuer¹ euill; but either it is ²pleasantly disposed or knauishly occupied. A merry countenance is a signe of contentment, but froward wordes are messenger of melancholly. In what the hart delighteth, with that it is best pleased; and harde it is to hault before a creppell. A frowne lodeth, and a smile lightneth; to frowne therefore kindly, is a barre to Iellocy: but loading crabbedly, men vndoe themselves speedily.

Causeles
discontentment
the third.

[¹ orig.
nener]
[² sig. B,
back]

Many men delighting in much company, cannot be contented to follow their desire abroad by vsing new familiarity, but wil bring daily grief vnto their houses, as little regarding their dispositions with whome they ioyne frendship, as the occasions that may be offered of dislike by after repentings; so that following their pleasure in satisfieng that humor, they fall afterwards into a worse vaine, being suspicious of ouer much familiarity to haue crept with their acquaintance, and doubtful least their copesmates are matched with them in their darlings bosomes. When they will begin so to watch their wiues eies, and dogge their frendes lookes, as the wife shall not pepe without daunger of the cats, nor the silly women speake without suspicion of falshood, Others will bring strang women vnto their wiues to welcome: speaking lauishly of their beauties, and vndecently in their praises, they will make comparifon without discretion, and giue iudgement without wisdom. They regard present pleas-

[M]ens follye
[the] fourth.

ure, but care not for future profit, not so much as thinking on the chilling winter in the heate of summer, nor of warre in time of peace. They consider not how loue will brooke no equalitie, nor marriage allowe of the least vnconstancy; and both these, though themselves haue beene the procurers of their own discontentment, yet will they lay all the burthen on their wiues backes, either plaging them in beeing suspitious, or punishing them by making them ielious. The old saying is, that he which will no pennance doe, must shonne the cause that belongs thereto: had I wist, is a slender remedy to remoue repentaunce, but a manifest badge of folly, especially when a man will leaue the bridg, to trie to leape over the ditch and fall into it. Thought is free; but when the tounge blabs, it is signe the hart ¹aboundes. What an euident token of foolish blindness is it, for a man to seeke many daies to please his mind, when afterwards, hauing found and inioying it, he will mislike thereof in a moment, by sight of a new obiecte? O! that is a weake harte that hath such a wandring eie! and hee is no small foole that so little esteemes of experience, as hee delighteth in the practise of vnkowne conclusions. Might it please them to vse lesse wordes and more wit, fewer companions or kinder familiarity, they should not so lightly enter the hazard of Iellofey.

The ill
col[un]cell
of the
wicked th[e]
first cause [of]
Ielosy.

Ill counsell is the next cause of Iellofey; wher by the wicked (whose imaginations are only to see discentions by bruting euil) supposes, bred of a suspitious braine, & vttered with colored hipocrisie) labour to sette debate betweene true hartes, and to shuffle in suspicion amongst those that are free from thought thereof. They will strue to perswade by liklyhoods, & confirme ascertions with false oathes. They will place betweene man and wife a tree of discorde, and plant in peacable houses, rootes of variance; their tounge shall be wagging to wish them to tast of the fruit thereof, their heads studying how to bring them to like of the practise of their premeditated mischief. They will alleadg, lo thus it hath proued by others, and so hath it fell out vnto them for want of suspicion. Think on the worst (say they) for the best is not hurtfull; but thinke of them as of the worst, say I, for they are most hurtfull.

Credite
g[ui]uen to
fal[se]
reportes
[th]e sixt.

And these make-bates will not let to brute reportes, though meerey false, to confirme their sayings, cloking their mischief with

the habit of good meaning, and hiding their knauery with a show of puritie. They will tattle tales as if fraught with truth: and vtter slanders, with protestations. They will inuent to perswade, and sweare to confirme: sticking burres on their backes, that were free from moles; and filling their heads with wonders, that before were in quiet. They ioy to set discention in a louing plat, and reioyce to see debate betweene faithfull frendes; they hunt after controuersie, and honour Iellofy. And because themselues are old, they will hate all that are younger then themselues, and suspect all, for that themselues haue loued ¹ the game: experience of knauery is a pestilent helpe to Iellofy; and if the mother hath loued to playe false, shee will bee sure to mistrust the daughter. Beware, for I haue tried: tis a vile whip to scourge a fearefull hart with; and perswasions from a dissembling hart are wondrous hurtfull to an vnconstant louer. It is a small bit that will not make a hungry dogge gape; and an vnfaury morsell that will not content a louging appetite. A will, with a diuelish wit, will practise any thing; and what is it that they cannot effecte? Marry, the best helpe to preuent their mischiefe, is misbeliefe; and the readiest mean to trie truth, is, to search into their own liues. And for that you shall, Tell-Troth, quoth hee, the better vnderstand the diuelishnesse of such creatures as are these makebates, I will tell thee a merry tale, I haue hard there tould, of one who was croft in her wicked suspition.

There was an olde trott, that in her youth hauing beene a true
 traeller, and now through her loose life was worne to the bones and
 past all goodnesse, dwelled neere vnto a proper young woman matched
 with a very honest man. This olde beldame, being good for nothing
 but to keepe the cat out of the ashes, and to prattell ouer a pot of
 nut-browne ale, would spend the rest of her time which was not im-
 ployed ouer the fagget, in sitting at the dore to watch what company
 resorted to the young mans house afore said. Whether, for that he
 was of a trade, did come diuers, some to bargaine, other about other
 businesse, and amongst the rest, this man had a frend, being a young
 man, which did often repaire thether. The olde cat hauing seene him
 there twise or thrise, beeing at a certaine time amongst many of her
 other goslopes, (like vnto her selfe in condition and of her own
 stampe by antiquity,) called this honest mans wiues name into question,

[1 sig. B 2,
back]

[A m]erry
tale [of a]
make [bate.]

fo setting her worne chappes a wagging, as she burthened her conscience with the confirmation of her mistrustfullnesse concerning her liuing. The reforte thether was her reason, and the sight of the former younge man her conclusion for the truth thereof. Some of her companions (somewhat better disposed then her selfe) gaue their iudgement with some tolleration concerning the suspected dishonesty, of which she misliking, reproued their light of beliefe with a shamelesse interrogation, howe shee could bee honest, seeing such a one doth resort daily vnto her, who is like to bee a wild youth, and therefore cunning, and she a young woman soone to be inticed: we know (saide she) by experience the dealings of such mates, hauing our selues beene fully tried by their flightes: verily they cannot be well thought on; nor may she be liked, nor her husband praised, for giuing such entertainment. Vpon which report, her withered gossip gaue vpp her verdict, that then indeede she could not be honest; and so for that time the court broke vppe. They gon, this wether-beaten fieres-bird could not be satisfied with thus much, but the chuffe her husband comming in, shee could not chuse but tell him of the company that had beene with her, and of the talke that had passed betweene them, with a recitall of her newly broched mischiefe, affirming it was great pittie, seeing she was a very proper young woman, and hee an honest man, a young beginner that was like to doe well, were he not ouer-reached by such companions. Doubtlesse (quoth shee) it were good, and a thing well pleasing vnto god to impart thus much vnto her husband, peradventure he, silly man, mistrust no such matter, or is loth to offend his wife by telling her of it; but if hee seekes not present remedy, howe is it possible hee should escape vndoing? To which supposed impossibility hee agreed; I thinke, lead thereunto rather for feare then otherwise, as you shall hereafter gather. Well, shortly they agreed to send for the yong man, and at his comming sent for a pinte of wine, giuing him therewith to gnaw, such crustes of small comfort, as tended both to his owne discredite & his wiues dishonesty: both their opinions concerning such men which resort to his house, as they feared, rather to her then to him: as also the reportes of other their neighbours that greatly pittied them, mistrusting no lesse then they had saide, confirmed their slaunders, endinge their tittell tattell with perswasions to forewarne their wiues of such

[1 sig. B 3]

A fires-bir[d.]
for that she
sat continu-
ally by the
fire side.

company. With which vnlooked-for banquet, the younge man, being
 stroken amafed (and maruell not, since it was meat ¹ of so hard a dif-
 gesture), floode still for a season; but after callinge his wittes together
 (of which he had no small neede being mated with two such rookes) <sup>They are
[ro]jokes for
[th]eir trou-
[bl]ing tongs.</sup>
 assured them of his wiues constancye toward him, that loued him most
 intierly, and obeyed him most duetyfully. And touching the resorte,
 his trade required customers, and not of the worst fort (for he was a
 shoemaker); and so lightly thanking them for their protested good
 will (giuing as small credit to their prittell prattell as he had stomacke
 to their cheere) he departed home, nothing lesse louing, or thinking
 worfe of his wife then hee did before. But they, seeing their purpose
 tooke so little effecte, grewe mad, especially the shee beetell, that in a
 great rage she posted to the tauerne, where she found some of the
 quest of inquiry aforesaid, to whome she blased the rancour of her
 hart, showing them howe shamefully their young neighbour was
 wronged, and dishonestly abused, through his kind simplicity. Where-
 vppon this honest man was dubbed amongst them a wittall; but while
 mother trot and her fellows were descanting on others honesty, there
 came in a new gossip, and not without newes, assuring this breede-bate
 that her husband (the olde fornicator that had beene with his wife a
 bate-maker) was at the flower de luce, a house of as good resort of
 honest women as any be in brid-well, and had sent for thether wine
 and other good cheere; which brought so bad cheere to her hart, as in
 all haste shee did runne thether: where not finding him, but vnder-
 standing, I know not by what meanes, that hee was newe gon, shee
 fals so hot to scoulding with the whipperginne her office, as from
 wordes they fell to blowes, so as in the ende our good neighbour
 came home to her husband with a painted face, as if shee had beene
 at her nuntions with cats. Well, beeing come, Ioane Stoomp-foot
 and Tom Totty, fell to 'thou knaue' and 'thou queane,' with other such
 shamelesse tearmes, as her husband, not able to ouermaister her that
 way, began to beelabour her faire and handfomely with a faggottstick,
 a present remedy to charme such diuelish tounques. With which
 noife (for doubtlesse it was great, especially the longe tound beare <sup>Which was
the Shee
make-bate.</sup>
 getting the worfe), the neighbours beeing troubled, were ² forced of ^[2 leaf B 4]
 pitty to come in, who, seeing the fray bloody, seuered the knaue and
 the queane, and so parted the combate. But the scoulding champion

(hauing good occasion to fet her chappes a-wagging, that were faine to flaunder before, for want of other matter) curfed the time that euer thee met with fuch a whore master knaue, telling the whole circumftances of the matter, with tearmes fit for women of her owne ftampe. And her husband, on the contrary part, forced to heare her tale, requites it with a iadifh tricke, that ſhe was taken with before time by him in his celler with a collier vpon two ſackes of coales. And thus both of them that accused others ſo lately of difhoneſty, were now by all condemned for a Ielious knaue and a miſtruſtfull baude, worthy titles for ſuch makebates.

I therefore warne (quoth Robin) both all ſuch Ielious goſſipes as loue to haue owens in euery mans bote, and could wiſh that all mens daggars belonged to their ſheathes, and alſo thoſe driggell draggells (whoſe wicked and laſciuious liues haue waſted their bodies to the bones, and yet not worne the tippes of their toungeſ) to leaue to be ſo raſh in their iudgementes, or to let their ſhameleſſe instrumentes to blabb ſuch vnconſcionable vntrothes to ſo abhominable an ende. And I alſo counsell both men and women, lightly to regard their backebittings and flaunders, that by vncharitable intermedling with their doings, ſeeke to moue ſtrife and procure diſlike, betweene thoſe that loue faithfully and liue quietly together, neuer giuing occasion of ſuſpition the one to the other, ſeeing that flaunders are onely likely hoodes, and no likelyhood certaine.

The hard
vſage either
of a man to-
wardes his
wife, or of
[a] woman
towards her
hufbande,
i[s] the
ſeauent[h]
cauſe of
Ieloſy.

A ſeauenth cauſe proceedeth of hard vſage, when as a man will brutiſhly vſe his wife by ſtrokes, and curriſhly barre her of matrimoniall kindneſſe. The man that will liſte vp his hand againſt his wife, is like the horſe that doth fling out his heeles to ſtrike his keeper; the one hauing a knauifhe, and the other a iadifh tricke. Will a man of loue launce his owne fleſhe, though ſome of deuotion ſcourage their owne backes? Doth not the dog feare the ſtaffe that hath ſtroken him? and can a woman like of the hand that hath hurt her? He that calleth his brother foole in ¹anger, is in daunger of hell fire: and thinkes the other man that hatefully beates his wife, or the woman that reuiles her hufband, which are neerer the one to the other, to eſcape that furnace? It is an eaſie matter to find a ſtaffe to beate a dogge, but vnpoſſible to meete with a dogge that will loue to be beaten with a ſtaffe, and as hard to finde a kinde hufband that

[¹ leaf B 4,
back]

will hold vppe his hand in anger against his wife, which is as his owne hart vnto him ; but it is very easie, for that they are ouer-com-mon, to light vppon breakers of wedlocke, that will hold vp their armes, bend their fists, and beat their silly wiues, at their comming home from bad women, loathing those that loue them, and louing those that lothes them but for aduauntage. There was also information made of many, that hauinge vsed their wiues wondrous ill all their life time, dealing with them as rigorously as many iades do with the Ostlers knauishly, that notwithstanding their cruelty hath beene manifest to the whole world : yet lying vpon their deathes bed, as late as possible they could, and yet better late then neuer, haue, stroken with penitencie, confessed their faultes with sorrow, and affirmed with protestations that they know there were, nor euer haue beene, more faithfull, carefull, obediente, nor louinge wiues then theirs : I pray you what would such haue prooued, if they had beene matched with like kind-harted men. Well, I leaue that to your iudgement, and will come to the last cause of Ielosy.

Which being not the least, is a leaud behauiour in company, when by loose trickes it may bee adiudged that nothing but oportunity is wantinge to their inciullity. But where shame tames not, there blame maines not. A fested fore must haue a searching salue ; and a shamelesse smile an open frowne. They that carelesly offende the law of modestye, must not taste of the sweete of courtesy ; and they which respect not humanity, shalbe troubled with Ielosy. Blame not the childe that feares the rod, hauing felt the smart therof, nor mislike those that shonne soure thinges, hauing tasted of suger. A hound that knowes the game, delightes in hunting ; and geue the keeper leaue to bestirre him^{selfe} when a curre chaseth his deare. Hee [r sig. C] that steales by night, escapes often when the day-theeues is apprehended ; but an impudent and desperate robber must haue a short dome, for that a plaine matter needes a small triall. He that feares not the halter will hardly become true ; and they that care not for suspect, are seldome honest. A still dogge bites sore, but the barking cur feares more. The hart is the director of the other partes. I pray you then what thinkes he that shames not who see ? Fy of hipocricie, but the diuell take impudencie.

These causes thus set downe were reduced into these eight kindes.

Knauish and foolish doters and fornicators, backbiters and liers, Bankrotes and hypocrites: the two first kindes haue effectes from the third, fourth, and eight causes, the two second from the first and fift; the six and seauen kindes, of the fourth and fift causes; and the two last proceede, of the second, third, and seauenth causes, of euery one of which there was a feuerall bil of complaint deliuered, which for that they were very tedious, I haue but onely brought awaye the endorcementes of them.

The first was, that whereas Iasper Impudencie lately entertained into the familiarity of one Ioone, good wench, that had vsed him very kindly in secrete, had to her great discredite, for that she barred him of that Priuiledge in an open assembly, called her name and fame in question, by accusing her of plaining fast and loose (about a kind glaunce that shee had geuen vnto an other, that had better deserued her fauour), in consideration of whose foolish knauery and knauish folly, shee desired redresse against him.

[x sig. C,
back]

The second was, against the folly of a yong nouice, that was so passionate for the loue of a maide, that he could not see any to speake vnto her, but straighte would fall into a sounge through Ielosy. An other complained of an old dotor of fourscore yeares of age, that had gotten, through the compulsion of her parentes, her selfe in marriage, being but two and twenty. Who through his watching, and the dodging of an old beldam his sifter, being in house with him, was so tormented, that if shee were neuer so little out of both their sightes: he presently thought his head began to bud, though it were in the deade of winter, and woulde most shamefully raile vpon her. And shee, hauing learned some subtilty by the old foxes craft, on a time stole foorth to her fathers to supper, not making any priuy to her parting, and there stayed vntill nine of the clock. When comming home, shee found her husband a bed, that had almost fretted his hart out for his wiues long tarrying: who no sooner saw her, but fell a threatning of her, and stricktly examining her where shee had beene: But shee, beeing well acquainted with that custome, fained, that by chaunce, comming from her fathers, shee met with a younge gentleman, an old frend of hers, that would not be said nay, but she must of force go sup with him. And affirming that to be true, shee fell

downe vppon her knees and craued his pardon. At the hearing of which, yea, and before shee had quite done (now thinking that to be certeine, which before he onely mistrusted, being verily perswaded that the destinies hadd crowned him with a paire of hornes for his New-yeares gift), he spitted at her, laying Bridewell in her dish, and the cart for her trencher : not only refusing her company for his bed-fellow, but driuing her out of his chamber with a bedstaffe. Neither contented with this, but in all hast in the morning hee trotted vnto her fathers : infourming him of many false tales, and amongst the rest, her last nights tricke was brought in for a confirmation of his hard fortune in beeing matched with such a one. But her father, knowing that to be false, and the other as likely, perswaded him from his Ielosy, which would not be, notwithstanding.

The fourth kind desired iudgement against their husbands, that, hauing bene married to them the space of threescore yeers, and growing wery of them, brought home to their houses yong men, vnder the titles of their kinsmen, to haunt their companies, with commandment that they should vse them as well as them selues. Who (through their ciuill behauior deseruing no lesse) being on a certaine time in their chamber with them, were taken by their husbandes with other of their coepsmates, that through bribes proued false wittnesse, by which the old fornicators procured deuorcementes, and married younge wenches.

¹ As for make-bates, there was framed against them a bill, to the [† sig. C 2] effecte of the tale aforetould of them. And touching their commorades the liers, they were complained of, for that in open assemblies they would speake against Ielosy, cursing him and his followers. But beeing matched accordinge to their hartes desire, with women that are most faithfull and honest, enioying through them the happinesse of a blessed estate, they, ouercloyed with the sweete it yeeldeth, and wearied with the gainefull fruite which ariseth therof, will (for that ther are no occasions of Ielosy offered) themselues nourish causers by most vnciuill companions. Talke of Ielosy in their company, they wil vtterly condempne such sickell headed Buffardes, that vppon euery light occasion are mistrustful of their wiues, swearing and protesting that they are not, nor would bee of such a suspitious society for the

world: when their priuy checkes for their wiues modest familiarity shall be so openly executed, as their actions show their tounge haue lyed.

But these of the sixt kinde are knaues in graine, that hauing lausht their stockes leaudly by badd meanes, and seeing their estates to grow weake, will seeke out wiues, not of the common sorte for propernesse, but suche matchlesse paragons as are for neatnesse not to be mated in a countrey. These must bee sett in their shoppes to tole in custumers; vnto whome, if they show not themselues good-fellowes by gentle speeches, their houses will proue to hoat for them. They must not flicke to promise fairely and to kisse, so they do it closely; onely this prouiso must be had, that they keepe them out of their mony boxes and closcubberds. Which practise prouinge profitable, and thereby their estates being amended, straight false measure is suspected, and therupon, this their owne inuention misliked off. Then they will say that they do more then their commission alloweth, though lesse a great deale then in the beginning was commaunded. Yea, thence after they must fit no more in the shoppes for feare of thunderclappes; and if perchaunce once in a moneth they are there, in which time it may happen some of their olde custumers to come to renue their acquaintance, priuy frownes shalbe geuen them¹ of the wittals their husbandes, their chapmen beeing in company; and in their absence, bitter woordes, if not biting blowes. Then shall they not bee suffered to looke on a man without controlement, nor dare to speake to any for feare of buffets. If any aske for them, buying there, presently they are thoughte to be their wiues custumers, and therefore shall haue bad entertainment, and be serued with the woorst stuffe, if any be worfe then other.

[¹ sig. C 2,
back. *Catch*
word by]

The last were cried out vpon, for that, whereas they are married with honest mens children, beeing beloued of them far better then they deserue, they will shoue them so much kindnesse in their wooing time, and on their marriage day, as they leaue neuer a whit for the time following. For, hauing reaped the first dayes roft, and beeing inriched with the profit thereof, they growe carelesse of that which might insue, thinking there is no heauen but the time present, nor any commodity like to arise of the remnant. Before company, their kindnesse shall bee so freely vsed, as when their wiues and they

are alone, nought but bitter wordes and worſe ſhall followe. Abroad, their behauior towardes them ſhall bee patling louing, mingled with kinde mirth; but at home they will ſo lumpe and lowre, as it were better to be in hel, then to liue in houſe with ſuch hipocriticall Ielious huſbandes. At feaſtes and at aſſemblies they will uſe themſelues like ſaintes, affirming they are matched with pearleſſe wenches for good and honeſte behauior; but in their chambers they are diuels, ſuſpecting falſhood and cloſe dealings betweene their deareſt friends and faithfull wiues. And to make an end of the meſſe, I will tell you of an euidence giuen there againſt a moſt notable aſſe.

There was one that, to ſhonne his predeſtinated fortune, and to preuent his hard hap fore-told him by ſome diuell incarnate, did ſearch to ſee if hee mighte finde ſuche an ill-fauoured peece of ſtuffe as all men els would miſlike of, not eſteeming how deformed ſhee were, ſo ſhee brought money with her. And at laſt, Nature had ſhapen a morcell for his tooth, ſuch a matche as it was impoſſible to mate her, vnleſſe her forenamed mother had bene ¹ hired therevnto. [¹ ſig. C 3]

Shee was beetell-browed, goggell-eyed, blobber-lipt, wry-necked, crooke-backt, and ſplay-footed: hauinge the huckle bone of her breech burſt, whereby ſhee wente wriggling with her taile like a broken legged dogge; with ſo ſweete a breath, as a man had beene as good to haue gone faſtinge into the common gardens about London, as into her chamber when ſhe was in it. With this vnmatchable creature did this ſtrippling marrie, ſuppoſing it vnpoſſible that ſhe that ² [² orig. thäl] had neuer a good part in her body, ſhoulde haue ſo bad a tricke as to lende his muſtard pot to others uſes. Wherevppon, ioying that hee alone liued with an honeſt woman (as hee thought), hee would laugh at his neighbours folly for chooſing wiues to ſerue other mens turnes, beeing, by feeding of their owne fancies, cuckold by ſuch as himſelfe was, who had notwithſtandinge at home for his owne diet ſuch an one as would not bee of others regarded, nor himſelfe coulde ſnuffe it off. But his tender crippe, knowing that there were Vulcans that woulde ſometimes looke into ſtraunge Smithes ſhoppes, and perſuading her ſelfe that *Pecunia omnia poteſt*, did hire a plow-man ſhee had, to ſupplie ſome wants in her ſweete hartes abſence. Who, agreed on the matter, did ſo cloſely perſourme their knauery, as to their thinkinge the Diuell himſelfe perceiued not their villany.

[r sig. C 3,
back]

Well, soone after there came certaine chapmen to this clothiers house, (for he was of that trade) to make merry with him at the Christ masse holly dayes, in which time they vsed this kinde crippe for his sake so familiarly, as they would iest with her before his face. Who, watching for a dishe from off Ielosies table, feared his owne shadow would beguile himselfe, and therefore would neuer leaue, vntill by a shift he had got them forth of his doores. So played hee with euery one that came after vnto his house, warning his wife from vsing such companions familiarly: neuer misdoubtinge Lobb, his man, that did daunce trenchmore once euery day in his priuy kitchen. But the destinies that had sworne his horned dubbing, to let him see the fruite of his choice, and the certainty of his fortune, (for to be a cuckold, and know it not, is no more (sayes some) then to drinke with a flye in his ¹cuppe, and see it not,) brought him on a time into his barne; when thinking to finde his man a threshing, he found him a kissing of his crippe, with so plaine further euidence of his hard fortune, as he killed both man and wife; and himselfe was hanged for it afterwards.

Of these fortes were the billes of enditementes, beeing practises so well liked and allowed off by this confocation, as the perfourmers of them were rewarded with the best entertainment Hell affoordes. And laying plats to effect further mischief, they concluded that, by cutting one an others throat, their kingdome might soone be enlarged. To which end they inuented these meanes, which I will rehearse vnto thee.

First, that knauish Ielosy should be requited with clubbing iniury: namely, that they that shal abuse their loues with lauish speeches, shall be lubberly beaten by champions, which shall be provided for that purpose: so that, through knauish mistrustfulnesse and murdering reuenge, they may all purchase Hell. Then that those fooles, which (being lodge in the bed of constant amity, taking their rest in Pleasures armes: and rocked a sleepe louingly, like infantes in the cradle of Disporte, by their nurfes Carefullnesse & Security) tosse their loues constancy so lightly with stroakes of biting and iniurious wordes, and baule so vnquietly, shewing most ielious trickes of childishe mistrustfullnesse, as they force thereby their nurfes to bee carelesse of their vndiscreete quietnesse, and to turne their blisse into bane, That

these (I saye) for requitall of suche foolishnesse, shoulde bee cast off, neuer againe to taste of the sweetenesse of their looues wonted curtesy, by which meanes they may become desperate and hang themselues.

And touching doating or dolting Ielosy, that their wiues, to pay them for their fuspition, shoulde not wander much abroade, nor giue entertainment to any gallants at home, but to growe familiar with their seruantes, and ioyne such a helper to their husbandes imperfection as Iacke the scullian is, which shall neuer bee mistrusted. And the better to effecte their knauery, it was agreed that they should bee councelled that euer after Ie'llious complaints made by ^[1 leaf C 4] their husbandes to their frendes, they shoulde sitte withe them at dinnér and supper for company, to preuente misdoubte, but shoulde not eate a bit, nor drinke a droppe, without their kindnes, for their husbandes vnkindnes did yeeld sufficient teares to quench their thirst with. Marry, in a corner with iacke their partners, to fare as well as money and mirth could make them, Whereby it was thought that they would recant of their Ielosy, and giue them liberty to vse it at their pleasure, so far as themselues might be assured how much they were vnhappy. And that fornicators (after they had obtained their desires according to the course of lawe) should, stroking vppe their crooked shankes, and belabouring their rusty beardes with their wetherbeaten fingers, seeking other wenches, meet with whipperginnies that should knowe how to vse such old leachers so handfomely, (beeing contented to indure discontentment, with the thought of the coine that lines their olde bagges,) as they shall be reputed by them for as honest women as liue, vntill the wedding day bee past, when in the euening (fore-thinkinge of the small pleasure is like to ensue by their pastime) they shal faine themselues so sicke, as of force they will lye alone, or at least without those old wretches. So shall they serue them by the space of a moneth, by which time (and it is no marueil) the churles will beginne to misdoubt somewhat. But what shall they care, seeinge they are mistriffes of all they haue, and can keepe the chuffes from their owne? When they tell them of their vnkindnesse, these wil be ready to spit in their faces, bidding them to goe trott vnto their trulles. As for them selues, they cannot abide such olde fooles: their breath stinckes, they flauer with their

kiffinge, with fuche other opprobrious scoffes, as by their harde speeches and woорfе vґage, they shall make the olde fooles to betake themselues to their beades, confessing with shame their shamelesse behaiour towards their late faithfull wiues, and, curfing the cause of this haplesse fortune, cry *Peccaui*, and die quite discontented.

It was further agreed vpon, that backbiters, that will not cease to blaze ielious vntrothes, shall bee plagued with hauinge ¹their tounge pulled forth, or else woорfе punished by loofinge the regards of supposed honesty. And all the commodity fuche malicious Impes shall reape for their knauery, is, a faire purchased place called Bridewell; and for their false reportes they shall bee sure of a proper cage to finge in; where their good names dyinge with their honestye, they shall bee carried from thence in cartes of reproach, and be buried in continual infamy, ronge to hell with lashes of whip-corde. And the liers: they, because they would not be iellious, but cannot leaue it, shal weare hornes, whether they will or no.

[² orig.
librall]

[³ orig.
lewdenesse]

But the grand wittalls, that will allure customers by the fine wenches, and with hauing enriched themselues thereby, will turne their knauery into villanie. They by their crabbednesse shall come to extreame pouerty, and then endeauoring to put in triall their olde custome, their wiues shall either growe stuborne and reape no profit, or else too too liberall,² spending the remnant which is left, leauing their husbandes as monyleffe as witlesse. As for the last sort, not least, whose mistrustfullnesse cut their owne throates, causing their wiues to fall vnto lewdnesse³ by ouer rulinge them with hippocr[i]ticall iurisdiction. Onely this shall be added vnto the forwardnesse of their distrustion, that their halting dis[ci]mulation should breede vpstartes to faue their fore foreheades; and they, regarding to maintaine their owne good names with hipocricie, shall thereby plante newe trickes of hufwiuerie in their wiues consciences.

Thus, *Tell troth* (quoth *Robin*), thou hast hard some thinge that thou neuer hardst of before, which, when it shall come vnto the diuells eares, I knowe hee will bee monstrous collicricke; but it mattereth not: it is better he should fret, then humanity fade. For vnlesse these his inuentions should be knowne, how should they be preuented?

I tell thee (frend), howsoeuer some thinke of me, *Robin*, as he is a good fellowe by name, so is hee no lesse in minde; and I sweare vnto thee I had rather see the diuells dance the morice alone in that fiery hellhoufe, then a christian to foote it there, through want of knowledge of their 'inuentions. O, tell troth, is it not great pittie to see so [^r sig. D] manye thousandes, through folly to inthrall themselues to tormentes euerlasting? thou wouldest thinke it vnpossible that the hundred part of them which are there onely for Ielosy, should bee bred in a world. Why, man, I haue onely tould thee of the Ielosy betweene man and wife, and the louer and his sweet hart; I haue not touched the Ielosy betweene frend and frend, the father and his sonne, the mother and her daughter, yea, and betweene whome not, that are ioyned together, either by consanguinity, neighbourhood, by office, or duety. I let these passe, because I meane not to meddle with them; onely, because thou wantest some way to thy iorneyes end, I will tell thee a pretty iest, which though it bee misplaced for want of memory, yet here it may come in very good tim[e]. And it is of an olde dotor that was very well ferued.

This dotor, who, though he were a man of fowerfcore yeares of age (knowing himselfe vnable to satisfy the expectation of a widow of his owne standing), yet would he needes marry with a girle of foureteene; Who, being constrained thereunto by her freendes compulsion, not knowinge what belonged to the rites of matrimony, was contented to loue him entierly, and to liue truely vnto him without thought of dishonesty. Yet so ill conceited was this foolish dotor, and so weary of his happy estate, as although he knew assuredly the cubbard was close shutt and without any crannes, yet could he neuerthelesse suspect the silly moufe, and would set trappes, hopinge to catche her, counfelled therevnto by his misdeeming thoughtes. If shee had beene neuer so little out of his sight, he thought it was the spring time, being but Christmas; to stay the forwardnes whereof, his frost-biting wordes should nippe her. The younge cubbe at last (learning subtilty by the olde Fox), suspectinge there was some further sweete in a married womans life, then as yet shee had tasted off, onely perswaded thereunto by her husbandes Ielosye, tooke harte at grasse, and woulde needes trie a newe conclusion. The nexte day beeing foorth at dinner with him, where were likewise many women

[¹ sig. D,
back. *Catch*
word foorth]

of all degrees, shee amongst the rest chose ¹ forth an old matron to passe away the time with, which in communication, finding her to be of such a courteous disposition, as vnto her shee made complaint of the seruile bondage her frends had brought her too. Which shee pittying (for what hart so hard as would not pittie her, that wanted altogether contentmente?), gaue her such good counsell as shee her selfe had tried, hauinge beene pestered with the like inconuenience, though not with so many hart-breakinges: whereof this younge woman liked so well, on the morrow she meant to put some of her conclusions in practise. And a brother of hers comming home vnto her the next day, she likewise showed vnto him howe the Ielosy of her husband increafed, desiring him to help her to effect a practise she determined to try; to which he soone agreeing, they stole both into one of her chambers, there spending the day in secrete communication, How it might bee best performed; which beeing earnest, passed away the time so suddently as night was come vpon them ere they thought on it, so that thereby he, forced to departe, was let forth at the dore by her selfe, whome a maied shee had (which the olde dotor made more of then of her selfe) did espy, not knowing who it was. But shee had newes inough that it was a manne, and so good to her liking, as in all haist her maister must be made acquainted there with; he, vpon the hearing thereof, growing so hot, as he did not onely beate his wife, but in a great rage turned her forth of the dores, reuiling her most shamefully. The silly woman had no other succour but to goe to her brothers that was married, in the same towne (for she durst not complaine to her father on a suddaine, he was so cruell), who receiued her kindly, and lodge[d] her for that night, because it was so late. And in the morning betimes hee went with her to her fathers, making him acquainted with the whole matter. Who, after the true search of the certainty thereof, condemned his owne folly for the match, sending for the olde miser, that was met at the dore posting thetherwards to complaine. But at his comming his expectation was quite frustrated, for wher, according to a former course had in the like practise, he looked to haue his wife rebuked & himselfe moned, ¹ hee was now, not onely sharply threatened for his misusage towards her, but also deseruedly scoffed at, and driuen force perforce (because hee was matched with his superiours), to bee there-

[¹ sig. D 2.
Catch word
he]

with contented. And vpon the triall of the truth he found himfelfe fo plainly convicted, as hee confefled his faulte, and asked her forgiue-nes, fewing for a reconciliation to bee made between them. Which done, they departed home, & his wife, not forgetting the shame fhee had indured by his meanes, fuddied to requite his villanye, and effected it after this manner. Her husband kept a proper man whome he did put in fo great truft, as he hiered him for a ftale to deceiue himfelfe by wifhing him to trie his wiues conftancy, Who dallied fo long with the flame, as at laft he was burnt with the fire of defire, his affection fo iumply meeting with her conceipt, as within a fhorthe time, what by faire promifes, larg[e] gifts, and her beauty (three notable baites to catch a kind foole with), fhe had fo won him to her will, as he would not onely reueale vnto her what fo euer his wife maifter would fay, but alfo would euer by falfe oathes fobbe him vppe with a thoufand vntruthes concerning her approued honefty. Well, his good reportes encreafed but further milike in his maifter, with a more earneft defire to finde her falfe; and there vpon he would teach his man how he fhould further trie her, fetting downe fuch plaine plots as by the¹ praifife of them hee was fhortly after ready at any time to doe his miftrefle any good turne in his maifters abfence. He had fubtill wit inough, and therefore they both fped the better, he prouing fo good a plaifter to her fore, as if fhe and her husband fel out in the night, fhe with her man would fport in the day time; and becaufe the olde foole was fo couetous as he would drinke onely fmall beere to faue charges, they two would courrofe whole gallons of wine at their going abroad, which was often without fufpition to the olde fooles hornes. Allwayes at dinner and fupper he fhould haue her with him to fhadowe miftruft, but fhee would not eate a bit with him, becaufe his fare was fo bafe, collouring her nicenes with want of ftomacke, and with forrow for his churlifhnes towards her. With which² diflembling (for what cannot women doe by teares?) her husband, what betweene his mans flattery and his wiues hipocricy, was quite chaunged, being verely perfwaded now that fhe is a faint, repenting he euer miftrufled her, & recanting of his folly in falfly accusing her. For a mends whereof, hee confefled the fecond time to her parents and frendes that he had moft vnderferuedly ouerawed his faithful wife, greened with nothing more

[1 orig. thy]

[2 sig. D 2, back]

then his hard vsage towardes her, in restraining her, beeing young, of honest liberty. In requitall whereof, it was lawfull for her with his young stripling to goe forth and returne at her pleasure, to be in what company she best liked of, and nothing suspected, for at this time he would not let to sweare he had the onely honest woman in the worlde. And if anye of his frends had reproued him of such folly, aleading that youth was soone inticed to lewdnesse, his aunswere was, hee cared not, and his thankes were sharpe wordes. But if his neighbours tould him shee kept bad companie, associating other women that were good fellowes, hee, forth with, would raile vpon the reporters for flaundering his wiues honesty, and would straight haue the lawe of them for calling her good name in question. And thus liued this dotor as long as the distinies woulde permit him, at his death leauing onely his hornes for his successors portion.

How like you this, Tell-troth? you smile at this mans folly, but you had more neede to pittie the weaknes of such as, onely led with extreames, ether hate deadly, or effecte too too childishly. But nowe, because thou art in a manner at thy iourneys ende, I must leaue thee, yet, before I goe, knowe this farther newes. That at my comming from hell, the assemblie afore said had thought to haue broke vppe, and gon euery gouerner to his prouince to take their pleasures, beeing ouer-toyled with their tedious consultations. But as they were a rising, there came one in sweating, with a supplication from Pierce-Penniless, inforcing them thereby to a newe labour. Which I perceiuing, and immagining it woulde bee long before it were ended, beeing
 [1 leaf D 3] allready weary of their company, leste that ¹newes for the knight of the poste, and so you are wellcome to your iourneyes ende. Robin good fellow, looking for no other thankes for his company, but that (frend Tell troth) thou dost me the fauour to publish this my inuectiue against Ielofy.

[2 orig.
deliuering]

Wherevpon he deliuerd ² vnto me a scroule of paper with the contents hereafter followinge, and so hee vanished away, I know not howe.

[Large Coat of Arms in the original.]

Robin Good-fellowe his Inuectiue

[1 leaf D 3,
back]

against Ielofy.



He Poetes altogether aymed not amisse in their fiction, whereas, setting downe the torments of hell, they affirme ther is no torture that inflicteth the furies with more extreame cruelty then the fond conceites of a ielious harte; and why? for that the reuenge of a disdainefull woman is deadly, and her rewardes for mistrustfullnesse, guiftes of vnceasinge grieffe, which in the ende woorke vtter destruction. The cause nourished in men maketh the effect possible and the practise intollerable.

There is no sweete so stronge, but the delighe thereof may bee crossed by the contrarye; nor anye hart so firme, but continuall vnkindnes maye remooue it. The tall oake, that waueth not with euerye puffe of the winde, is easelye throwne to the ground by an extraordinary tempest. The hardest flint is pierst with often dropes; and it is not impossible, though vnlikelye, that the skie should fall. Are they not woorthy to be nipte with the piercing stormes of a biting winter, that, hauing a shelter to defend themselues from such outrageous wether, and knowing a tempest will come which may ouerthrow it, neglecteth neuerthelesse to preuent that daunger by vnderpropping the same? or deserue they to haue their estate pittied that wilfully seeke their owne vndooing? As it is a part of wisdom to foresee a daunger, so, not to withstand and to endeuour to frustrate the same with reason and forecast, is a badge of extremest folly.

And *Peccaui* deseruedlye falles on their backs, that wittinglye and willinglye incurre the hassard thereof. If men had no vnderstanding of the plagues of hell they would be too too vitious, and their pleasure could not but bee their destruction, vnlesse euery one had a hale-backe for his companion. If Ielofy be a torment more

[a]spice, vt
[im]me]ritus
mis[er]landæ
[sorti]s asel-
lus [a]ssiduo
[d]omitus
ver[bi]ere
tardus [e]rit.Principiis
obsta, sero
medicina
paratur,
Cum mala
per longas
conualuero
moras.

[1 leaf D 4] mercilesse then diuelish Pluto, and his common ¹wealth more greeuous then the forrowes of hell, I forrow to thincke that men should be so witlesse as to honour the Diuell, and so carelesse as to delight in such a weale-publike. But be it as it is, or let it be woorse, as it is vnpossible it shoulde, their conceites are grown to be so base, and their enterprises so beast-like, as for the most part they follow Ielosy so eagerly, as they constraîne their deereft freendes to cut their throates with the knife they most feare, when both the euell it selfe and the cause therof might be remooued, so euery one would ground their loue vpon discretion.

Arte cite ve-
loque rate[s]
remoque
r[e]guntur :
a[re] leues
curru[s] arte
regend[us]
amor.

If the practises and proceedings of loue be so forcible as they bring death with them to the hopelesse harte, hee is vnwife that will striue to encrease those affections which are already more then extraordinary. Waxe, by a temperate heat is mollified and formed, being softe to any shape, but through a furious flame it either wasteth and consumeth, or els will not be touched without defiling of our fingers. The hartes of women are like vnto waxe, that, tempered by the passions of loue, are ready to take the impression thereof; but if it coole againe before the printe of kindnesse be surely set on, or if the flame of fury breake forth about it, being sett on fire by the coales of misgouernemente, to what bad ende will the good beginning be turned? and how many hartbreakings by quarrels and disagree-mentes will arise in the smoothe of such smoaky misrule! Doubtlesse the experience thereof hath taughte too too many to their grieve, and will teach more to their vndooing, vnlesse the swelling of that fore be asswaged with som wholsome medicin. But they that only haue entertained the superficies of loue, neuer harboring him in their hartes, affirme that he and Ielosy are brothers, and that the one cannot bee without the other. If they that holde the same for a maxime, meane in the defence of their freendes honours, and to be Ielious of their wiues good name and reputation, I graunt that that is most kinde affection.

[2 leaf D 4,
back]

But when Ielosy ariseth of a foolish fondnes, grounded with out reason, to bee remooued with euerye lighte occasion; or of mistrustfullnesse of the partye loued, without triall of anye vn²constancy; or, lastly, of childish affection, lead away with an vnruely appetite, and nourished with dispayringe conceites, conceiuing what is no¹, and

iudginge onely by shadowes which remoue all hope, causing continuall discontentment,—that maketh the ielious mans case desperate, and the thinge foolish.

There is no concorde betweene water and fire, nor any medium betweene loue and hatred; for either the hart sighes vnder the burthen of entiere affection, or groanes through the waight of greuous dissimulation. Loue couereth a multitude of sinneful offences, and loyalty recouereth a world of ouerslipt infirmities; but dislike findeth rottennesse in sound timber, spots in the pure white, and vnkindnesse in the constant harte; it engendereth Ielosy, and procureth enmities; it hatcheth breakepeace, and glories in quarrels; all it delighte is in findinge of faultes, and all it ioy to encrease mislike. If it hath it beginning of loues contrary, yea, in nature, how can there bee anye brotherly equality betweene them? vnlesse, vnhappylye, wee will make the eye father to both, that seeinge aswell good as euell, entiseth the hart, through corrupt affections, to be misled by wicked elusions, bringing forth bastards in steede of true begotten children: For if Ielosy be loues brother, it is by corruption of nature brought forth vnlawfully, which may thus be manifested. After the eye hath chosē an obiekt which brings so sweet contentment to the hart, as it highly delighteth in the same, that prouing so kinde loue and such feruent affection in both, as lawfull requitall makes a pleasing satisfaction, the eye receiuinge kinde glaunces for amorous glotinges, and louinge harte-breakinges for affectionate hart sighings. The eie beeing pleased with an eye, and the hart contented with a hart, they frolique both in glory as long as they rest in constancie; but wandring from forth that sanctuary, the eie either spies another eie that better pleaseth it, and the harte likes of another harte that better contentes it, or else the eie lookes curiously into his owne hart, and spies some fault in himselfe, which, displeasing, begetteth Ielosy: whereby the eie may be said to be originall and father of both.

¹ How is it possible that falshood should be in frendship? or can [? sig. E] the hand beguile the hart that ruleth it? no more will a louing wife playe false with him to whome shee is ioyned both by the lawe of god and man, or a frend crosse her louing exceedinges, in whome his hart delighteth. That which is bred in the bone will neuer out of

Qu[^o] tibi
formosa[m]
[si] non nisi
[ca]sta
place[bat].
Non pos-
s[unt] vllis
ista [co]ire
modis.

Indig-
n[ere] licet,
iuua[t]
inconcess[a]
voluptas.
Sola
plac[et].
timeo,
di[ce]re si
qua p[ro]test

the fleshe; and what *Nature* hath made, *Arte* cannot marre. If Ennie hath a tricke with her heele, all the diuells in hell cannot alter it. And I maruell menne are so foolish as to matche themselues with fuche women whome they haue cause to suspect. Doubtlesse, either their own life hath beene lasciuious, by which they iudge others, or their meaning bad in chusing such companions; when nowe, ouerlate repenting of their bargaine, they light on a worfer mischiefe. Although the fox be so crafty as he deceiues many, yet sometimes he meeteth with a champion more subtile then himselfe. The pitcher goeth long to the water, but at last getteth a knocke through the bearers fault, and is brought home broken. The ielious man feareth his owne shadow, and looketh narrowly vnto it, yet (likely) at last commeth a substance, who (when he thinketh least on it) entereth, doinge him iustice, though hee neuer the wiser. It is straunge that menne are so foolish as to seeke their owne vndoing, for assuredly looke, by what measure they sell by, the same shall they receiue their owne, without aduantage. The quarreling mate shall not complaine for want of knockes, or the ielious man longe desire hell, when the one shall finde like swashbucklers vnto himselfe, and the others wife will not sticke to cut his throat with the knife hee hath so long feared.

If mens loue be simple good, women cannot but affectionate them with like simplicity; but if they play false (Ielofye beeing their cloake), they will be sure to keepe knaues to crosse their cardes with. In these dayes euery cobler doth feare the carter, and fetes vppon his whippe at his dore to keepe Iohn Cobbilero from his lattice. And I pray you vppon what reasons shall these ielious trickes be discarded? Somme haue it by nature, and say, 'kit must after kind, bee it but in scraping of a ¹frying panne.' Beware of naturall foolles as long as you liue; for a bad tricke ingrafted in them, neuer leaueth them vntill he hath brought seauentie worse into his roome. And, as for the inuention of their prediceffors, they must needs goe to the diuell with them for companie. Others builde their knauery on other mens misfortune, that are matched with Ioone, *communis omnibus*, that could play at bucklers so soone as she was past her cradell. Oh, shee is a tall peece of flesh, and will stand to her tackling so stoutly, as the diuell himselfe shall not get the waiters from her. I counsell

[¹ sig. E,
back]

him that thinketh hee hath met with her companion, to cease to greeue at it, and strue not to remoue that he cannot stirre, leaft happily shee falls quit from him, & neuer serueth him after. Manye honour him of custome, because they hold their landes of him by homage, their prediceffors allwayes hauing beene his sworne subiectes. A pittfull custome, that tendeth to the tenauntes vndoing, and a title that might very well bee resigned ouer and denied; seeing it only toucheth free taile, or seruices vnreasonable to be perfourmed. And a great part obtaine his entertainment by vse and practise: those are greene headed that long for reformatiōs, & would haue new lawes instituted euery quarter, desiring to try new conclusions, whether it were possible for a man to liue vnto himselfe. Which are so delighted with common cafes, as they make honesty a necessity, thrusting him out of the dores at their pleasure, by vsing them most shamefully whome they ought to loue entirly. But most playe ielious parts of knauery and bad entention, meaning to make a practise of paltry peuiishnesse and knauish conceiptes. They will be ielious to try their wiues or frendes constancy, being neuer ashamed of their owne villany.

What shall I saye? I greeue to thinke on mens hard happe, and womens vnkindnesse; the one nourishing mischief, and the other perfewing, with deadly execution, the tormentes they suspecte and greeue at. I haue hard (euen of kinde gentlewomen reported, whoe haue beene ouer vexed with the suspitiōs conceiptes of ielious husbandes) that their slaundersous thoughtes ¹concerning the suspected crimes, did not so much aggrauate their owne griefe (though it were intollerable), as the sight therof did encrease their wiues ioy and delight, onely pleased with this sweet melody: That they knewe themselues to bee most constant and faithfull, though suspected of the contrarye, and their husbandes, desiring no more then constancy, cannot content themselues with their desired felicity, but greeue their own soules with triphells, and eate vppe their owne harts through suspitiō of disloyalty. I would but demaund what recompence a ielious man receiue by all his trauell, or what little ioy he reapes by his mistrustfullnesse and continuall pensuēnesse? The lowest ebbe is counteruailed with as high a flood, and boystrous stormes with calme wether; the glomeft daye maye darken the sunne, but not

Quidquid
[se]ruatur,
cu[p]i[m]us
ma[gi]s:
ipsaque
[fu]rem cura
[v]loat:
pauci [q]uod
sin[ti]t
al[t]er,
amant.
[¹ sig. E 2]

[¹ orig.
musicke]

abate his pride; and as there are extreame droughtes, so sometimes falls the contrary by extraordinary tempests. There is no sowre but may bee qualified with sweet potions, nor any doubtfull malady that may not be allied with delightfull musicke¹; onely ielious thoughts with loue are vncurable, and that a corasue most dangerous to mens hartes. It is vaine to striue against the streame, and as foolish to build castels in the aire. He that thinketh to catch the aire in a bottle, deferueth to be laft at; & he that would ty vp his wiues or frends honesty in a string, to bee pitied: both follies fit for inno[c]ents & practizes without end. I thinke *Vulcans* Ielofy preuailed him nothing, & his catching of *Marce* & *Venus* in a purcenet as little, except a confirmation of his great grief, & an assured knowledg of his horned head, prouing a continuall badge of his infamy. The like followed many others fuspition, and the like will ensewe of such folly. *Vulcan* knewe that *Mars* was a copartner with him in *Venus* bosome. And he himfelfe could not but blush when hee had wooed his owne spouse (the goddesse of loue), in steede of *Briceris*, his beloued paramore. I knowe that euery one hath his faulte, and all deferue equall punishmente; onely *Robin good fellow* wifhes, that mens & womens prefumtions may be certaine, and that their suspecte may bee built on a sure ground.

[² sig. E 2,
back]

² If men would imitate the same rule, to auoide Ielofy, which *Cicero* hath set downe in his Offices, as most requisite to maintaine a happy weale publike (alleaginge, *it was the parte of mad men, to wishe for a gloomy day when the sonne shined most gloriously; or to desire warre and turmoyling troubles, when the common-wealth flourisheth most happily through peace and tranquillity; But, to alay hurly burlies with council, and to make warres cease by aduice, was greates wisedome,*)—They would not encrease their owne greefe and forrow: or rather, beeing at quiet, and obtaining the height³ of pleasure by mutuall loue and affection, they woulde not (I say) long after vnrest, or pursue troubles, and continuall disquietnes, with might and maine, without measure; seeing the obtaining of their owne desire is a prooffe of their misfortune, and the iudgemente after the verdi& of such a title, continual shame and infamy. The man is happy that is accounted happy, and none are richer then those that be so

[³ orig.
height]
reus est,
niumque
fauet ille
ori, cui
itur victa
ma cru-
a, rea.

adiudged of. If, then, fame be so fauourable as to reckon a beggar equall with a kinge, is not hee a foole which will himselfe reprooue her of an vntrueth? The prouerbe adiudges that 'an il bird which will defile his owne nest;' and is not he a bad cuckold, that will register himself one when the clarke hath left him out of fauour? By how much it is better to be one, beeing accounted none, then to be none, and reputed one,—by so much the more are they beholdinge to themselves for the horne that blowes their Ielosy vntill it flames. An extraordinary smoake breedes suspect of a hurtfull fire, and many sparkes make men to wonder; yet the harme of both of them is preuented by care and diligence.

I would but know the manne (*semper excipio*, the wittall) that would not be loath to be pointed at with a paire of hornes, & yet I know very many, and haue hard of an innumerable company, that haue made the whole parrishe, yea, the country, priuy to their misfortune by defarte of them. Well, then, hereafter if there be any that hath a tooting head, and would not haue it fene, let him keepe it secretelv to himselfe, and make the best of it. He goes farre that neuer turnes, and shee is a diuell that will neuer ¹ mende; and since the [† leaf E 3] diuell is good to some body, let the ielious man make much of her, that the shee diuell may bee good to him.

Sorrow craues pittv, and submission deserues pardon. Hee is ouer hard harted that will not be entreated, and diuelish that cannot forgiue. If, then, vpon penitent submission, a man shalbe forced to receiue her into fauour that hath offended, will it not be so much to his better contentmente, by how much a few are acquainted with the mischiefe? That grief is best digested that brings not open shame, but a spightfull blow prooues a noted scarre. But suppose the worst that can happe, imagine shee will neuer be good, building vpon the old sayinge: *Shee that knowes where Christs crosse standes, will neuer forget where great A dwels*,—yet a man were better to bee troubled with a queane alone, then to bee forced to keepe both a queane and a knaue: for as the law grantes a deuorcement, so is it requisite it shoulde allow the woman mainetenance; and what shall her knaue lacke that she hath? Whosoeuer, therefore, that is bound to a bad bargaine, whereof comes two mischiefes, either to keepe a queane or

*Flectitur
tus voce r
gante de*

*Quo
semi[el] est
imbuta
recens
seruabit
odo[rem]
Testa diu.*

E duob[us] malis, min[im]um est el[ig]endum. to parte with money, if he will follow Robin good fellowes counsel, let him rather choose to diet her in his owne house, then to pay for the boord of her and her louer in a strange place.

Obsequium
tigresq[ue]
domat,
timido[s]que
leones.

But because it is the best labour to worke the confusion of such an ennemy as Ielosity is, whose company encreaseth multitudes of inconueniences, My meaninge is to set downe some necessary helpes how such a mischief may bee best preuented. And first, I counsel every one that is infected with such a plague to seeke to forestall the daunger thereof, by kinde and gentle plaisters. I meane, that shee who hath a ielious husband, subiect to the like infirmities before mencioned, shoulde reclaime him by gentle vsage, and overcome his vaine suspition with modest behauiour, not vsinge any vnciuill trickes in disdainefull manner before his face, he hating the same; or vsing other suspicious practises, onely to crosse him with them; and so to carry themselues in all places, and at all times, as they may neither giue cause of offence vnto them or of mistrust vnto others. The like meane ought to be executed by men, that they ouerlay not their [feare]¹full wiues, brauing them with disdainefull likelyhoodes of dishonest behauiour, but that they dissuade them from suspition by the contraries, remoouing their ielious conceites by kindnesse and louely dalliance. It is easy to cure a greene wound, but the daunger of a festred sore is mortall. The young tree will stoupe, when the old shrewd cannot bend; and new conceites are easily remoued, but engrauen thoughtes will not be rubbed forth; and loue is of so great force, as he sooner ouercomes with a faire word, then his enemye shall conquer by all his forces. Howe happie is that common wealth where peace reigneth, and that family which concord gouerneth, the one nourishing true amity amongst her subiectes, the other establishing vanity betweene man and wife.

[+ leaf E 3,
back.
Catchword
fearefull]
[Fle]ctitur
ob[se]quiuo
cur[ua]tus
ab ar[bo]re
ramus:
[fra]nges, si
[vir]jes
exper[ar]e
tuas.

*What greater grieve then life with discontent,
When discontent of want of loue ariseth?
Loue hath no lacke, but allwayes liues content,
And any thing to please his mind sufficeth;
Rich is true loue, abounding still with store,
The lacke whereof makes want a grievous sore.*

*The sweete of loue doth yeeld so sweete a tast,
As mixt with gall, he turnes the sower to sweete :
By him is strength and blessed weale imbrast ;
By him is harts-ease gaind, and ioy most greet.
Strong is true loue, whose strength is kindly set :
To heape with sweete, that sower his ioy ne let.*

*The sport of loue is full of ioyfull smiles,
He cures all sores with one most kindest salue ;
A pleasing kisse his frowning rage beguiles,
And one faire word his anger doth dissolue ;
Pleasant is loue, he ioyes in weale and woe ;
His rage with smiles, his wroth with kisses goe.*

¹ Thus liueth loue, and no otherwise fare they that be his followers ; ^[* leaf E 4]
they are neuer hart sicke, because they neuer suspecte ; nor euer dis-
pleased, because for that by themselues they are not grieved. Who
is more tormented then he that teares his owne flesh ? or who
deserues more grieve, then they that will not vse the remedy ? To
lock vp ones wife, for fear of sparrow-blasting, dub himself a cuckould
within an iron cage, and to seeke to ² rule her by correction, when
he cannot gouerne himself with discretion, is to gather a rod to beate
his owne breeche. For whiles she is lockte in her studie, her mind
hath the more liberty to inuent a fit reuenge against her going
abroad. What is it they cannot effecte, if they haue a will therevnto ?
And what woman is there that liues without a meanes to repaye a
good turne, or to requite a bad ? Vse them, therefore, well, is the
wisest way to liue quietly ; to loue them entirely, the onely meanes to
bee long happy.

If she meanes to deceiue thee, her inuention is hard to be pre-
uented, for, watch her neuer so narrowly, she will finde a time to
performe her knauery. The filiest creatures are sildome catcht in
ordinary trappes : and can women want wit to frustrate a common
stale ? If it wer possible to know their thoughts, it were likely their
practises might be hindered ; but as long as *secreta mihi* raignes, the
rains of their liberty are at their own pleasures. And I thinke men
are best at ease when they are so pleased,—at least, wise men are, or

^{[2 orig.}
seeke is to
to]
Non men-
[tem]
seruare po-
tes, licet
of[m]nia
claudas
omnibus
e[x]clusis,
int[us]
adulter eri
Si sapis in-
dolge
dom[i]n[æ]
vultus[que]
seueros
exue.
Centum
fron[-]te
oculos,
centum cer[-]
uice gere-
bat Argus,
& hos vnu[s]
sape
sefellit
amor.

should be, feeling their contentment hanges in their wills. For what houle is in quiet where the goodwife is out of patience? If the maister bee angry, the fault onely lies on the mistriffe her necke; but be she moued, about goes the maides, away runne the menne, and I make a doubt whether her husband dares to out stand her. I am assured shee will out chide him. Flattery is a sweet baite, and kindnesse a wholefome potion; & nothing more then vnlawfullnes, enticeth vs vnto lewdnesse. The delighte of sweete is taken away by surfiting of fuggar; but who by nature is not desirous of nouelties? There would not so many purcase Tiborne, vnlesse there were a Bull to hange them; nor so many yeeld vpp^e ¹the possession of their garmentes to the hangmen, were ther not a lawe to condemne them. And I warrant you, there would be fewer horned heads, if ielious hartes were scaunter, wherby the practise of watching might decay. Who knowes liberty better then they that haue beene in bondage? And whoe, for the most parte, vseth it worse then they that knowe it best? A mind ouerladed with ioy, committeth manye errours in his iolity; & a harte pressed downe with sorrowe, thinkes of manye mischiefes. Extreames are neuer good: and howe can one sooner fall into them, then being made acquainted with one of them? Hauing beene in the dungion of discontent, and being set free to range at our pleasure, we thinke we are neuer at the territ of delight, before, with *Ouids* builders, wee touch the heauens, so imperfect is our nature.

Quod licet
ingratum
est: quod
non licet
acrius vrit.

[¹ leaf E 4,
back]
[Flec]timur
in [v]it[i]um
sem[per]
cupimus-
[cu]l[us] negata
[cu]l[us] pec-
care [lic]et,
peccat
[mi]nus[us]
ipsa
[po]l[us]testas
se[m]ina
nequi[tas]
langu[us]dijora
facit.

O vtinam
[a]rguerem
[si]c, vt non
[v]incere
pos[s]em:
Me mi[s]e-
rum quare
[t]am bona
causa mea
est?

Per vene-
rem iuro,
pueriq[ue]
volatilis ar-
cus: me non
admissi cri-
minis esse
reum.

Perwasions are of great force to moue women, whose harts, though most tender, withstand nothing more then crabbed vface. Vowe loue vnto them, and they will sweare constancy vnto you; and if perchance they make some ouerslip by their deseruing Ielosy, yet grow not straight collericke, but say your paternoster before you reprehend them for it; in which time, which is as small as may be, you shall, by tempering your wit with wisdom, finde so tractable a medicine to drawe her from a second fault, as her penitencie will take away all suspicion of hipocricie. Say but you are sorrowfull to heare it, or ashamed to see it, and, of my word, her next shall be an oth neuer to commit the like folly. What a cheape *subpena* is this to drawe an answere from the conscience! When, peraduenture, to deale otherwise, would come to neede a writ of rebellion. There is

no assurance better then that which is made with a safe conscience ; and no man stands on a better ground, then he that buildes on his wiues word. If she speaks it, why should we not rather beleue her, then an other that should report no more vnto vs? Oh, I knowe what you will say, because she speakes in her owne defence; and maye not the other flander vppon a malicious will? What will not the diuell doe for aduantage, and what can hee doe without his instrumentes? To bee too too cruell ¹ breedes repentaunce, as well as care- ^[1 sig. F] lessenes forerunnes sorrow. When tender droppes will pearce the flint, the hard stele is vnneccessarye ; and where good counsell will correcte, a rod were better away then present. They say that ouer-awing makes fooles, and what will they let to doe? It is as hard to get any good out of them that are witlesse, as to force water out of a flint ; and yet I say not but that good may be gotten of them ; but with it, I affirme it must be by kind meanes. *Fy, fy, sweete hart, what losse trickes are these ! or what immodesty will this be accounted !* Will strike so deeply into a reformatiue conscience, as there shall not neede out vpon thee, with some beastly tearme of a brutish tounge for a whit of correction. And they will driue an obedient wife to such contrition, as there shall be no thought of an vnkind extrusion, either of her out of dores, or of her good name and fame from it wonted reputaation. Why is the husband called his wiues good-manne, but because hee ought to be a meane to withdraw her from such imperfections as nature hath left in her? He, in my iudgement, can be but a bad common wealthes man which is an ill husband, for, looke what ill fashions raigne vncorrected at home, the like inormities should rest in his forrain charge. For who knowes not that we haue the greatest care (if we haue any at al) of those things which are nearest vnto our selues? and why may not I affirme that such a one will respecte little a common profite, when hee regards so lightly his owne priuate wellfare? Oh, I woulde Robin might be tedious, not troublefome, hee would then endeauor a further probability of the ielious mans folly, but fearing he hath offended too too much already, hee will euen but shut vppe his remnant breefely.

Hæc tib[i]
sunt
mecu[m],
mih[i] sunt
communia
tecum : in
bona cur
quisquam
tertius ista
venit ?

*The sweetest flower whose staulk sharpe prickles gard,
Yeeldes pleasant sent, through care, without annoy :*

*The Goosbery, with hurtfull byshes ward,
Surrenders vp it selfe, through care to ioy.*

[1 sig. F,
back]

¹ *The rammish hauke is tamed by carefull heed,
And will be brought to stoope vnto the lewre ;
The fercest Lyon will requite a deed
Of curtesie, with kindnesse to endure.*

*What fish so proud as doth disdain a baite ?
Nor fish, beast, foule, nor fruit, but takes the mate.
Then since that care speedes best with curtesie,
Vse care and kindnesse to mate Ielofy.*

Nec blan-
[]atis, nec
[eri]t tibi
col[mi]s
amica,
[pe]rfer
& ob[du]ra :
post[mi]odo
mitis [eri]t.
[2 orig.
noysommes]

This is Robins counsell, a soueraigne oyle of experience to drawe away the droppings of Ielofyes nose, that so much anoyes the patients harte. Which must be wrought most gently, laboured with the perswasions of reason, the effecte wherof, I warrant you, wil proue so profitable, as either he will be freed from noysomnes,² or haue his nose put out of ioynt. Conetuousnes is a pestilent help to Ielofy ; for how can he that hath set al his loue on his money, be drawn to bestow part thereof on his wife ? No, of my credit, he that hath crept into that vaine, hath so far crawled from honesty, as hee cares not what iniury hee doth. He knowes that loue will aske cost ; and why doth he loue the diuell, but to saue charges ? For could he be contented to doe good, as he is forward to worke mischief, he would deale with loue better then to locke him vp in his coffers. Oh, it is a sweete thing to him to diue vppe to the elbowe in a bagge, while the kind man bestowes his time in kisses. But let the other be assured, that whilest this inioyes paradise, he shall be striuing to passe through the eie of an nedle, which shall proue vnpossible. It is a gay thing to come to dignity, but it is a more beneficiall thinge to vse honesty ; but whye doe I talke of honesty to them that neuer meant to enter eternity ? Surely for no other cause, but for that Robin, knowinge the flauerye that is prepared for you, is moued to pittie, and could wish you had care to preuent the punishment of the cormorantes dungion. But I care not howe little honesty you haue, so you shunne Ielofy, for I onely harpe on that string at this present, which

I fay cannot bee a¹voided without the entertainment of loue, who will [¹ sig. F 2] soone thrust him headlong besides his possession.

Omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus amori. The passions of loue Desine
are so passing kinde, as they subdewe wheresoeuer they become, yea, (c[re]de
assuredly they will either conquere or kill; and because life is most mibi) [viltia
sweete, we will rather yeeld to affection then die for Ielosy. Loue is irritat[er]
a pleasing gout, which will suffer vs no more to be misled by vnrest, [ob]sequio
then the tormenting gout wil giue his patientes leaue to rest while v[ic]ies
the paine is vnceasing. And such a hartie dropie is he, as he swels ipse tuo.
his criples affections with so great kindnesse, as they sing no song, but En ego
Ah, I loue. He is a nettle that stinges the hart with continuall plea- co[n]fiteor
sure; and that babie which lodges in womens and mens eies, on tua sum
whome none shall fix the fancy kindly, that shall not be stroken with noua praeda,
a darte of constaucy; hee is the greening woe that breeds continuall C[u]lpidio,
ioy, the fond conceit that fastens faithful thoughts in his place, but Porrigim[us]
that euill that reapes eternall good. To rehearse her qualities, were victas ad
a new worke for Robin-good-fellow, and to followe his properties, t[ua] vincula
not a labour without profit. But his chiefe² qualitie is to be kind manus.
and his next to be constant; he euer forgiues, and still forgetes faultes. Blanditiae
He delightes not in breed-bates, nor doth he glory in the quarrells of comites t[ibi]
deere² frendes, but all his actions are faithfull, and all his thoughtes erunt
frutfull. Dandill him, and he will sporte thee; set him in thy lappe, tetr[i]que
and hee will comfort thy hart; Speake him faire, and hee will kisse furo[re]
thee kindly; like him onely, & he will loue thee euer. He neuer is assidue
hasty, but hee repentes thereof presently, paying for euery vnkinde pa[r]tes
worde a sorrowfull hei ho. As he will be soone angry, so is hee turba
straight pleased, & therefore was he fained to be little in being neuer [se]cuta
long troubled with extreames. But there is a certaine madnesse tuas.
which men call loue, the same prouing so great fondnesse, as euery His tu mi-
frowne of a mistrisse makes some melancholy a quarter after, and to [li]tibus
match that, is foolish dotage set, both so hot passions for a while, as superas
they proue in the end to be loues greatest enemy, euen pestilent homin[es]
Ielosy. The one will die if hee hath not his longing; as for the other que
(for that hee is more craftie), hee hath ³many subtile meanes to deosq[ue]
obtaine his desire; yet both of them are so far from reason, as they Nil opus
hurt themselues willingly. Nowe, to iudge howe kind they will be e[st] bello:
[3 sig. F 2, back. Catch word man]

to others, that be so crabbed to themfelues, Robin leaues that to common reafon. Yet becaufe thefe two extreames, namely, mad fondneffe and dottage, are the onely meanes to helpe Ielofy, I will bee bould a little to touch them.

The extraordinary concept of obtained curtify, moues fuch a liking in the ouer passionate louer, as all his fences are onely tied to one obieft, & his whol hart dedicated to that faint, the fole miftriffe of his hart. As the extremity which tormentes him, is eafed with nought except what comes from her kindneffe, fo his mad fittes, once croffed with discourtefie, breed that vncurable melancholy, which deadly grife and vntimely death do followe. But both of them being perchance ftrucken with the felfe fame arrowe, shot from the vmpertiall blind boy his bowe, are rauifhed with the delighte they conceiue the one from the other, their thoughtes beeing heauenly, becaufe true to each other, and their true loue vowed to eternity, manifested by no fmall fauours. Which happily euery day more and more encreasing frendship, remaines to both with wifhed contentment, vntill vnappily, Ielofy (the professed enimye to louers profperity) picketh a quarrell with one or both, by falfe vnconstancy. Then beginnes our hot loue to turne to burning coles, prouing fuch fondneffe, as wee fufpecte our owne shadowes. Wee gorge our felues fo vnreasonably with the delight of our faintes beautie, as wee caft vppe the hope of their faithfullneffe. We wil make them faintes, and thinke them diuells, louing them fo entirely, as our ouer much makes them vnhappy. Wee doe fet them vp in vndecent brauery, and fet them out with foolifh praifes; yet, fhould any ftrangers (though of the familiars forte) feeme to fue to them,—nay, I may truly fay, fpeake to them, it may bee the better for the men, but bee affured it fhall bee the worfe for the women. And now comes in diffimulation, by which we moft praftife to vfe them kindly, whome wee hate deadly; to fpeake them faire to their faces, whome wee curfe behind their backs, ¹ and to feede them with dainties, whom wee could wifh poisoned. After the felfe fame manner fare our wiues: they haue a kinde dinner and a crabbed fupper, fweete meate with fower fawce, and a pleaſaunt drinke with a poisoned potion; fo fonde extreames falling one on the others backe, as in a moment wee will vfe them like Goddiſſes (if we doe not confeſſe vnto them, they are no leſſe

[I] meane
the [de]lath
of hyr [spir]it
or of hir
[lo]ue.

[P]inguis
a[m]lor
nimium [q]ue
patens, [in]
tædia
no[b]is
vertitur, [et]
stomacho
[d]ulcis vt
es[c]ia,
nocet.

[¹ sig. F 3]

vnto vs), and no otherwise then diuels, swering now we hate them most deadly, whome euen now wee protested to loue most diuinely; fuche monstrous vnconstancy dooth this fondnesse nourish. Neither shall these trickes be extraordinary once in seauen yeares, but I would Robin could not avow that he hath seene them perfourmed on[c]e euery day in many places. Well, I will leaue them to their amendes, and touche as briefly the dotor.

O facies &
oculos na[ta]
tenere
me[os]

Who, after a little pampering (hauing perchance had his liberty in good pasture for halfe a yeare, without exercise), doth grow so frolicke, as he thinkes himself as youthfull as the yongest nagge, though he hath as many diseases as a iade can haue. In this brauery hee must bee furnished with a gay saddell, and none vnder a ladye maye serue his tourne; I meane, while his prouender prickes, he wilbe so lusty, as hee thinkes no woman too yong for him. In which vaine, beeing thus courageous, hee spendes franckly, and fettes himselfe foorth in the brauest manner, so that by his hope, *quid non aurum?* he will hap vpon so vnequall a match (by practise prooued), as after one nights iourney, he begins to be iadishly tired, euery day after growing mistrustfull. So that as his monstrous desire hath bene the meane to ioyne himselfe with fuche inequallity, so shall his knowne cold courage and her youthfull yeares be a line to leade him to Ielosy, Whose persuations as yet haue taken such desired effect, as at this time, where loue seekes to builde his kingdome, this his ennimy (I meane Ielosy) neuer surceaseth from armes vn till he hath loue out by the eares, being still accompanied with like bats, & alwaies followed by vnhappy discontentment. His prosperity, generally allowed off in mens conceits, is greedely followed by their vnconstant hartes, which loue nothing that 'is eternall, nor like of any loue but what wil alter dayly. And because I haue entred so farre into the gouernement of Ielosy, I will presume to wade a little further into his kingdome.

[† sig. F 3,
back]

In the countrey of Euery-place he raigneth, a ruler as pernicious as mightye, and more mightye then either vertuous or peaceable. As his kingdome is large, so his subiectes are many, his land beeing inhabited by people no lesse vnruely then himselfe, and his right maintained by make-bates that neuer are satisfied, vntill their owne bloud hath raunfomed the delight of their desired death. Many are

his aduerfaries, and more his freendes, euery difpofition drawne to follow his humours, and defirous of his entertainment, by reafon his actions feeme pleafing, and his caufe righte and profitable. His regimente is well ftrengthned by force of men, hauing ftronge holdes, feeming no leffe delightfull in fhow, though by experience it prooues moft fruitlefle and barren. His chiefeft city and feat of pleafure (accompted of his fubiectes the feconde Parradife) ftandes on the top of a high hill, called Miftrufffullneffe, at foote whereof runneth the swift riuier Vnconstancy, hauinge this effeete in operation, that whofoeuer inbathe themfelues therein, finde continuall alterations in their harts before fetled, and now tormented with variable thoughtes. In this ftream are manye fandy fhallowes, and as many daungerous holes, both continually vfed and frequented vnto, as well by the inhabitantes of that citie, as alfo by all fuch who chaunce to trauell that way. This citty hath his name 'Light of loue' maine-
 teined by elders, whoe are elected, not for their wealth and wit, as in other countries, but for their envy and foolifhneffe. Their common trafficke is Exchange of Loue; and their profites, Difquietneffe and Hate. The fruite that delighte[t]h their appetites, is Faith-leffe Fancies; and the meates they feede on, Care & Vnrest. The sportes they ioy in, are continuall brawles, and the walkes they take pleafure in watching, and hope of finding. All their triumphes are Controuerfies in law, and all their turnies, for broken pates, with faggot ftickes; their feaft day is repentaunce, and Death their Saboath.

[* leaf F 4]

¹This citie bearing the chiefe fwaie for vnruelineffe, hath fo difperfed her inhabitaunce into the other partes of the cuntrey, as, for the moft part, there is neuer a cottage in Ielofyes common wealth, but harbours iourney men as bad as their maifters in condition. His houldes and caftels are both ftronge and many, being fortified with deepe castruelinges, and furnished with all kindes of ingions fit for warre. Theire artillery for defence, fo wel placed on the battlements of their towers, as they wonderfully and daungerously annoy their enemy. Curfes and Banninges are the least shot they carry, and a thoufande bitter wordes will do no more then charge one of them. The natures of thefe people are variable, and they, beinge for the moft parte false harted, are likewise defirous ftill of new freends. The enterteinment they will giue ftrangers is verye good, but the vfage of their

frendes and familiars, especially of their wiues (as you haue hard already), is generally too too bad. They, altogether reiecting reason, performe rashly what so euer they thinke, and effecte diuelishly what so euer they praetise. Their wills are their lawe, and suspecte their iudge, their iudgments being as lawlesse as their lawe is wanting reason and discretion. They bandy honesty as a tennis-ball, and play with good report, as a childe doth with an apple,—the one not being in quiet vntill it bee eaten, & the other neuer satisfied vntill their good hope be quite extinguished. The busy Ape comes not to so many throwde turnes by his vnhappye trickes, as they come vnto mischief by their troublefome dispositions; nor doth he deserue so much the whip to keepe him in awe, as they meritt the halter for bringing so many vnto misery. For if the law rewards him with a halfe penny corde, that doth rob a stranger of thirteene pence halfe penny, I knowe no reason howe they can bee accompted lesse then theeues, that either robbe their neighbours, or spoile themselues of their good names. He that killes himself, shalbe buried by the law in the commons; and why shoulde not he be intoombed vnder the gallowes, that not onely cuttes his owne throate, hasting thereby to the diuell, but cuts his wiues also, toling her thither for company?

¹ *Ah, foueraigne loue, whose sweetnesse salues the foure,*

[¹ leaf F 4,
back]

And cures the woundes of euery dying hart :

Thou kilst by kindnesse, if thou kilst; No lowre

Ads greater grieffe to them that feelee thy smarte.

Thou countes it paine enough, by prooffe to finde,

How two kind hartes may fast remaine in one.

Thy captiue bounds make but a constant mind,

And all thy warre is for long Peace alone.

Thou ties the mind, and lets their handes goe free :

Thou woundes the hart, and neuer hurtes the skinne :

Thy victory is, loue for loue to see :

Thy greatest conquest, where there is least sinne.

Ah, sweetest loue, thou wounds to cure for aye,

Whose sharpe short-night² procures a sweete long-day.

[² orig.
shor-nitght]

Such is lous enuy, and himselfe no worse an ennemy; hee fightes strongly, but to free euerlastingly; he tormentes happily, and cheereth

Non mihi
[m]ille
placeat.
[n]on sum
de[sul]tor
amo[r]is:
Tu mihi
(si qua
fi[d]es) cura
pe[r]ennis
eris. Tecum,
quos
dederint
annos mihi
fila
[S]ororum,
vi[v]ere
contingat
teq[ue]
dolente,
mori.¹

[² sig. G]

frowardly; and both his smiles & frownes are so equally tempered, as his pleasing mixture makes a perfect medley, which yeelds most melodious constancy. One loue and one life shall knit so perfect a knott of amity, as one death shall ende both their ioyes and miseries. Her loue shalbe his life, and his life her loue, shee shall endure no torment without his torture, nor shall he suffer any extreamity without her agony. His sicknesse shalbe her sorrow, and her grieve woorse then his deathes wound. Their care shalbe to encrease each others hartes-ease; and their strifes, which of them shall exceede the one the other in courtesy. Their dalliaunce shall bee rewarded with darlings, whose sweete fauoured faces shal be continuall pledges of their faithfull kindnesse. The daughters shalbee like to their fathers, and the sonnes haue the countenances of their mothers. Their encrease shalbe multiplied, their substance doubled and trebled, till it come to aboundance, liuing so longe as three folde gene²rations shall make ioyfull great grand-mothers, and degrees of honour make happy posterities. They shall adde so great a blessing to their store, as time shall not take away the memory of them, nor fame suffer their antiquitye euer to die. A worl[d] shall ende with their honour, neither shall that world decay vntill their dignity be registred in the true cronicles of eternity.

Thus shall lous followers be thrife happy, and thus Robin goodfellowes well-willers, in imitating his care, bee manifolde blessed. They shall haue their hartes desire, and I
my wifhe, which I pray may happen to
both our contentmentes; and
so, farewell.

¹ A good deal of the Latin side-notes comes from Ovid's *Amores*, book 3, elegy 4.—W. C.

¹ *To the Gentlewomen and others of England.*[1 sig. G
back]

Ourtious and louely Dames, some, to winne your fauour, prouid suche costly giftes as may beseeme your acceptance; and others, so rare deuises as a yeares trauell hath purchafed; but Tell troth, though as seruiceable as they which are most passionate, and as amorous as who exceedes in affection, hath only bought for you a dramme of wit, amounting to fower pennye charges to passe for a new-yeares gift. The dedication whereof, I haue rather subiected to your curtesie, then to mens patrocinie; for that your selues, being of the purest mettall, and hauing your hartes framed of the kindest moule, will be both more ready to defend our good meanings, and willing to hinder that haggis proceedings, your wills will be least followed, and therefore your wits must be most vsed; wherby you, whose sweete flowing tounge charme more then the Orphean musicke, must straine your melodious notes to that heigh[t], as by your singularitye you may make Ielofie ashamed, & by solemne vowes, breake the necke of suspicion. You must diswade with wordes, and perswade by modest behauiour, confounding by wit, and confirming with discretion; Following Robins rules to preuent the diuels practise, and making much of loue, to withstand Ielosies counsell. And for that Tell troth tells the truth, which by triall you must proue, vse Robins salue to heale your sore, and performe his will to inioy your weale, whereby your confirmation may approue his cunning, and allowe my presumption in a ² greater matter. Robin hath here but onely touched that generall knowne enimie to a quiet life; but hee meanes, by your further fauourable protection, shortly to arme you against many pettie aduerfaries, which worke against loues welfare. If, in the meane time, your good reportes knocke downe the busie carppers, it shall bee a sufficient spurre to make both Robins wit and my pen to triumph in spite of them, which shall, by wading further to anger them, light into that vaine which will better content you. Vntill which time (because I would not be tedious) I will leaue you, submitting the wish of your welfare to the pleasure of your owne wills.

[2 leaf G 2:
the back of
this leaf is
blank.]

Yours, as he hath euer beene,

Tell troth.

[Mr H. C. Levander has kindly identified the side-notes of *Tell-Troth* by means of his Ovid Index, and copied them out as follows :—

- Quo tibi formosam, si non nisi casta placebat?
Non possunt ullis ista coire modis.—Ovid. III. Am. IV. 41.
Indignere licet; juvat inconcessa voluptas
Sola placet, Timeo, dicere si qua potest.—III. Am. IV. 31.
Quicquid servatur, cupimus magis; ipsaque furem
Cura vocat: pauci, quod sinit alter, amant.—III. Am. IV. 25.
Ferreus est, nimiumque suo favet ille dolori,
Cui petitur victa palma cruenta rea.—II. Am. V. 11.
Flectitur iratus voce rogante deus.—Art. Am. I. 442.
Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu.—Horace, Epist. I. ii. 69.
[... ex malis eligere minima oportere Cic. de Off. III. i. 3.]
* Obsequium tigresque domat *timidosque* leones.
Ov. Art. Am. II. 183.
Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus.
Franges, si vires experiare tuas.—Art. Am. II. 179.
Nec mentem servare potes, licet omnia claudas;
Omnibus exclusis intus adulter erit.—III. Am. IV. 7.
Si sapis, indulge dominae; vultusque severos
Exue.—III. Am. IV. 43.
Centum fronte oculos, centum cervice gerebat
Argus: et hos unus saepe fefellit Amor.—III. Am. IV. 19.
Quod licet, ingratum est; quod non licet, acrius urit:
II. Am. XIX. 3.
Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata.—III. Am. IV. 17.
Cui peccare licet, peccat minus: ipsa potestas
Semina nequitiae languidiora facit.—III. Am. IV. 9.
O utinam arguerem sic, ut non vincere possem!
Me miserum! quare tam bona causa mea est?—II. Am. V. 7.
Per Venerem juro, puerique volatilis arcus,
Me non admissi criminis esse reum.—II. Am. VII. 27.
Haec tibi *sunt* mecum, mihi *sunt* communia tecum:
In bona cur quisquam tertius ista venit?—II. Am. V. 31.
Si nec blanda satis, nec erit tibi comis *amica*;
Perfer, et obdura; postmodo mitis erit.—Art. Am. II. 177.
Desine (crede mihi) vitia irritare vetando;
Obsequio *vinces* aptius *ipse* tuo.—III. Am. IV. 11.
En ego confiteor; tua sum nova praeda, Cupido:
Porrigimus victas ad tua *vincla* manus.—I. Am. II. 19.
Blanditiae comites tibi erunt, *Terrorque*, *Furorque*,
Assidue partes turba secuta tuas.—I. Am. II. 35.
His tu militibus superas hominesque Deosque.—I. Am. II. 37.
Nil opus est bello; pacem veniamque rogamus.—I. Am. II. 21.
Pinguis amor, nimiumque patens, in taedia nobis
Vertitur; et stomacho, dulcis ut esca, nocet.—II. Am. XIX. 25.
O facies oculos nata tenere meos!—II. Am. XVII. 12.
Non mihi mille placent: non sum desultor Amoris:
Tu mihi (si qua fides) cura perennis eris.
Tecum, quos dederint annos mihi fila Sororum,
Vivere contingat; teque dolente mori.—I. Am. III. 15.]

* There are several various readings of the words in Italics.

[THE
PASSIONATE MORRICE,

A SEQUEL TO

TELL-TROTHES NEW-YEARES GIFT, 1593.

By A.]



[sig. A 2]

To the Gentlewomen and others of England.



Nce more (most beautiful damfels) I am bold to perfume of your wonted fauour, thereby being lead to a performance of a vowed duetie: where a kinde zeale bindeth to offer the acceptance of a seruiceable good will, there a carefull feare that forewarneth to incurre the hazard of offence, maketh the hart to stagger betweene hope and despaire; hoping through the kindenes of your gentle dispositions, to obtaine a defence against iniurious cauillers, and fearing by an ouer-bolde presumption, to offer offence to the affable sweetenes of your soueraigne curtesie. But seeing my desire to bee possessed of the better cordiall, makes me hart-strong to suppe of that potion which is likest to lengthen my welfare, the same being an assured confidence of your continuall carefulnes, in shrowding with your affection the slender substance of my humorous Morrice.

It is not long since, for *Tel-troths* Newyeeres-gift, I presented vnto your liking *Robin good-fellow* his newes, with his inuectiue against Loues most iniurious enemy, Ielousie; which, though it was a token to gratifie the day, yet, if with indifferent iudgement, the matter therein contained be considered of, I doubt not, though it was a New-yeeres day toy, it may proue a many yeeres helpe to hinder that haggis enterprises. The worke tooke his title according to the time of his creation¹; but shall *Robins* prescripti²ons be followed? the patients maladie shall continually finde it a giste to signifie the³ good beginning, and prosperous proceeding of many new yeeres vnto them. But now to send *Tell-troth* packing, *Honestie* hath thrust himselfe into your seruice, who, though at the first sight he may seeme a crabbed companion, yet let me beseech you to stay your

[¹ orig. creation]
[² pt-orig. pr-]
[³ sig. A 2, back]

cenſure til you haue throughly tryed what is in him; and if then he ſhewes not himſelfe a diligent pleaſer of your immortal vertues, memorize in the Cronicles of Diſdaine the fame of that runnagate ſimplicite, and let me, for his faulte, be baniſhed from your good thoughts to euerlaſting ignominie.

I was rather deſirous to traueſe altogether inuiſible, then to haue had a title which might giue light to the vnderſtanding of me your vnworthie professed Author; but ſince the higher powers denie me that priuiledge, I am content to ſubieſt my ſelf to the opinions of courteous diſpoſitions; beſeeching you to beare with my vaine, for that the vanitie of this age regards no other; nor would any be content to heare of faultes, vnleſſe they be tolde them in meriment. I proteſt there is nothing ſcandalous therein, nor which is ment to offer iniury to any; onely my purpoſe is, that if you ſhould know any like vnto any of thoſe in diſpoſition, that either you forewarne them thoſe monſtrous iniurious vices, or accompt of them as peſtilent fooliſh wretches. To ſhun tediousnes, I commit my intention to your

mifticall conſideration, my woorke to your courteous protection,

my ſelfe to your fauourable opinions, and your

ſacred felues to the heauens

tuition.

Yours in ſeruiſe and affection

moſt loyall, A.



[sig. B]

THE PASSIONATE¹

[¹ orig.
PASSOIN-
ATE]

Morrice.



IN the moneth of *March*, a time as fit for wooing, as *May* is pleasant to sporte in, *Honestie* traueilling, as his custome is, to search such corners as good fellowship haunteth, it was my hap, comming into *Hogfden*, to light vpon a house, wherein were met such a troupe of louers, as, had not the hall been wondrous bigge, a multitude should haue been forced to stand without dores. Yet, though the rounge was so spacious, as an armie might haue lodged therein without pefterment, notwithstanding it was so well filled at this instant, as all the place *Honestie* could get amongst them was, to sit on the rafters on the top of the house, which fitted best my humour, that desires rather to see then to be seene. There, seated in my Maiestie (as ready to heare newes, as the pickthanke is forward to tell newes), I might easely perceauie my louers mated, as if they ment to make *Marche* birds, euery man hauing his sweete hart, and euery couple their corner. There were of all sortes, and in many manners sorted,—some batchelers sewed to widdowes, others to maides; widdowers likewise wooed some maides, and other some, widdowes; there was age and youth coupled together, equalitie of yeares courting each other, and diuersity of dispositions, arguing to make a sympathie.

² Amongst them I lent my eares first to a couple that had chosen [2 sig. B, back] forth the most secret corner in the house, which were not worst fitted for yeares; for it was a youth of three and twentie, that had matched himselfe with a maide of eightene; hee, holding her vpon his knee, with his right hand clasping hers, & his left about her middle, made many proffers to win her fauour, and breathed many sighes to shew his loue; he vowed constancie with protestations, and confirmed with

othes the pledge of his loyaltie; he shewed her how long he had
 loued her before he durst tel her of his affection, how many iournies
 he had made with losse of labour, and how many complaintes to the
 God of Loue, not finding any remedie. Hee made her priuie to the
 many houres he had at sundrie times spent in watching to haue a
 sight of her, shewing vnto her how ioyfull he were, had he, per-
 chance, but seene any creature belonging to her fathers house, yea,
 were it but the little dog that turned the spit. 'Many times (quoth
 he) haue I lookt vp to the windowe, imagining I haue seene thy
 picture engrauen in the glasse, when, with long gasing to viewe the
 true portrature thereof, I haue at last recalled my selfe, by letting my
 soule see how mine eyes were deceiued, in expecting that true forme
 from the glasse, which was onely pictured in my heart. Then would
 I sorrowe to my selfe, and power forth such passions into the ayre, as
 my heart, being ouer loaded with the extremitie they would force,
 would constraine me to sit downe, ending my speeche with such
 sighes, as my breathed sorrowe would no lesse darken the ayre, then
 a mistie fogge doth obscure the skie. But at last, comming to my
 selfe, I would returne home, locking vp my selfe within my
 lodging, a close prisoner by the commandement of loue; where,
 to passe away the time, I would write passionate lines, amorous
 ditties, pleasing fancies, pleasant rondelaies, and dolefull drerelayes.
 Now would I thinke to winne thee by letters; anon I thought it
 better to pen speeches; but suddainely, both misliking mee, I would
 throwe ¹my selfe vppon the bed, so long thinking which way to
 obtaine thee, as in the end I should fall into a slumber. Yet, amidst
 my rest, my thoughtes concerning thee were restless; For then should
 I dreame sometimes thou spakest me faire, repaying my kindenes with
 sweete kisses, granting my requests, and forward to doe my will; but
 awaking from forth that foueraigne elusion, looking to finde thee, I
 should feele the bed-poastes, that hard hap, turning my glad heart to
 a new bread sorrow, which was the more painefull, by how much
 my dreame was pleasing; at another time, I should thinke, that suing
 to thee for fauour, thou wouldest bestowe frownes, & profering my
 seruice, thou wouldest offer skornes. If I sighed, thou wouldest smile,
 laughing at my teares, and ioying at my grieve, requiting euery kinde
 demande with so cruell answers, as if thy bitter words could not force

[¹ sig. B 2]

me to leaue my suite, thy skornefull farewels should frustrate my wil ; offering to touch thine hand, mee thought thou profereds[t] thy foote, and stouping to catch that, being glad of any thing, thou wouldst in a rage fling from me, and leaue the doore barred against me. There should I sit till my teeth chattered in my head, and my heart aked in my bellie ; then should I shake for colde, and sigh for sorrowe ; when, thinking to knock my legges against the ground to get heate, I should kick al the cloathes off me, being in the end constrained to awake through colde. At what time that colde fare would better content me, then the former flattering cheare did please me, being as glad it was false, as I would haue been glad if the other had been true. Many like to these did I endure before my acquaintance with thee, not knowing any meanes how to obtaine the fame of thee, vntill happely finding thee in a sommers euening at the dore, I presumed to enter parlie with thee, offering my selfe your seruant, which had been a tweluemoneth your sworne subiect, doubting of your patience, though you seeme to be a patterne of pittie. How, and after what order I haue since that time besought your fauour, your selfe shall ¹ be my iudge, for I list not to rehearse my dayly shifts to ^[1 sig. B 2, back] shewe my zeale, my manyfolde conclusions to obtaine your companie, my giftes to wooe the seruants, and my presents to gaine your good will. But to be brieft, thereby to come to that I like best, one whole yeare I loued thee before thou knewest me, & three more are passed since first I spake to thee ; yet then was I as neare as now I am, and now as farre off as I was then. Say, therefore, sweete, since to stay longer yeelds but little comfort, shall my suite now end with the verdict, You loue me ?

To which long preamble, shut vp with so whot a conclusion, she no lesse prepared herselfe to answer him, then Frier *Tuck* vsed ceremonies before he song mattens. She cast her eyes vp to Heauen, as if she had been making her praiers to loue, sighing so bitterly, as I thought hir placket lace would haue broken ; then to the matter thus she answered : ‘ Alas, gentle sir, I must confesse I haue found you kinde, and you haue been at a great deale more cost then I could wish you had ; your suite hath been long, and my kindenes not much, nor doe I hope you expect more at my hands then you haue had, before my friends haue granted their good will. Maidens are modest, and

must not bee prodigall of their courtesie; children are bound, and cannot consent without their parents counsell; pardon mee, therefore, I pray you, if I say I loue you not, since my father knowes you not; and thinke not much if I desire you to leaue to loue mee, vntill my mother giue me leaue to like of you. At which time, assure your selfe I will bee as ready to performe your will, as they shall be forward to wish me that good; and thus, in the meane time, I hope you will rest satisfied.' This was a shroade bone for my passionate youth to gnawe on, that being so stricken on the head as his heart aked therewith, thought to ease his sorrowe with this replie: 'Ah, my sweetest sweete (quoth hee), Thinke not on thy fathers counfel, seeing a greater friend craueth his deserte, nor let me rest their leasure without pitie, that hath thus long remained constant vnto ¹thee. I loue thee not ²for thy freendes sake, though I loue them for thy sake; nor doe thou lothe me for their pleasure that liues but at thy pleasure. But, sweete and soueraigne of my hart, as thy thoughts be not tied to their wils, so let not thy loue be linked so fast to their liking, as their mislike should end my life by remouing thy loue. Say, my goddesse—' and therewithall, as he was proceeding, she cut off the rest with this short answer: 'I beseech you, sir, to leaue off your courting, vnlesse you entend some other conclusion then as yet I can gather; for, of my faith, loue you I wil not, nor consent; I dare not, without my freends giue their consents first;' and thereupon she thrust through the throng, and poasted out of doores, leauing my passionate loue to say his pater noster alone; where we will leaue them.

[¹ sig. B 3]
[² orig. nor]

What I thought I will tell you, and I hope you will not doubt of the matter, for that *Honestie* speakes it. One yeeres loue without acquaintance, and three yeeres suite to be neuer the neerer; either he was a bad lawyer, or she a monstrous vniust iudge; but be it, both a passionate Affe, and a peeuiſh wench were well met. But marke his folly and her cunning; he, building Castles in the aire, and setting trappes in the Sunne to catch the shadowe of a coye queane, was pleased by her, with wagging his bawble and ringing his bell, while she pickt his pocket and cut his purse. A proper peece of seruice of a passionate Souldier, and a prettie sleight of a flattering Slut; I would we had more of them, nay, why wish I that, since the worlde

is too full of such alreadie? Yet, of my honesty, she was as fitte a match for such a foole as might be found in the worlde. A great deale of fond fancie repaied with a sharpe shorte deniall, and three yeeres affection rewarded with an ounce of flatterie, mingled with a pound of discurtessie, a good cordiall to comfort so kinde a hart. Oh, the subtilty of the diuell, that vnder the shadow of obedience couers the craft of cosonage. It is hotte loue that buildes on freendes liking, and pestilent affection that relies rather on the mothers ¹ loue, then on the Louers loyaltie. Such as stands so curiously on their Parents good will, hauing dealt so craftily without their consent, are worthie, by *Honesties* doome, to stand in a Cage, vntill either their freends good will be got, or her sweet harts licence obtained for her deliuerie. And this is too good, for that the kinde Affe wil too too soone release her; I thinke this punishment would be worse welcome vnto her, namely, that she be bound from mariage, so long as she hath kept him without his answere, which will so pinche her prodigall desire, as either she will forswear honesty, or neuer commit the like knauerie. Oh, there is a companie of minions which delight to haue many sutors, that they may bragge amongst their mates of their diuersitie of louers; they thinke it commendable to haue store of customers. But knewe they so much as I know, they were better to goe once in a fortnight to *Greenes* Cunnyberries, then to haue such reforte to haunt their companies.

Honestie honours the consent of Parents, but abhorres such loue as is built on their liking; if there be no remedie but that either they shall like, or thou wilt not loue, let him haue thy Fathers good will before he obtaines thy countenance; for doubtles she that will entertaine louers, and repay their courting with kindenes, will care as little for her freends counsell, hapning on a mate she can fancie, as the horse wil for haye, that hath his manger full of prouender. And, what is the cause why so many stande so curiously on their freends consent? nought, forsooth, but the presumption of a double baite, that being sure of their countenance, they may be assured of an other dinner if their owne likes them not; or otherwise to haue a hole to hide a Fox in, for that her owne denne is not secret enough. If her Husband controlle her for any misdemeanour, or reprove her of any dishonest behauiour, then on goes her pantoples, building the

[1 sig. B 3.
back]

[¹ leaf B 4] reckoning of her honesty on her fathers countenance, so far presuming of his bounden duetie for the match making, as if he kept the key of ¹ her hufwiferie. Her long tounge vtters large speeches, standing at defiance vnder the banner of her Fathers defence, and his house must be her Castell to keepe her from her Husband. This is the commoditie a man shall reap by such a match; and this is their meaning that would couer their rebellion with the cloak of obedience. Is not he wel preferred that is so well married? and how can he mend it? Marry, no way but this, that he which is mated with the like inconuenience, to learne more wit against the next time, striuing, in the meane time, to please both her and her freends, since he had so much reason to woo both her freends and her, to be bound to so bad a bargaine.

It is follie (quoth a wise man) to be sorrowful for things irrecoverable, and *Honestie* thinks it madnes to repent for deedes done, whereof her selfe is culpable; can any man be so witles (especially in matter wherein wisdom is so much required) as to doe, and wish vndoone in a moment? yea, doubtles, *Honestie* knowes such, they being the hotte spurres of our age, that thinke euery day a twelue moneth vntill they be married; and after they are matched, euery houre seauen yeeres vntill they are parted. It was hotte loue that will be so soone colde, some of you will say; but I say, if it had been hot loue (as it was burning lust), it would not haue been so soone colde. For whereas *the* prouerb goes, that *hot loue wil be soone colde*, it is ment by such affection as wants matter therby to continue longer. For as that is the purest wood which yeelds the perfectest heat, and *the* purer it is, the sooner it wilbe it own destruction, leauing the fitters by without fire, vnles a fresh supply be as neede requires added,—so wil our hotte loue (whose kindled affection is come vnto it perfection, the hart being on such a blaze, as euery part of it is on a light flame,) decay (as reason and nature requireth), vnles new faggots of kindenes adde fresh matter for fiering, the supply thereof remouing all suspition of want of affection. How pure *the* loue is where there is so light a regarde of proffered kindenes, as ‘my Fathers will,’ or ‘my Mothers leaue’ must be a Spurre ² to my liking, let euery one iudge that knowes loue.

² leaf B 4,
back]

But, in my opinion, as I confesse that the duetie we owe to our

Parents may doo muche where the knowledge thereof bindes to obeye; so muſt I confirme that loue is a duetie, himſelfe binding to ſo great obedience, and tying with ſuch ſtrong conuainces, as he remoues all thoughts of lower dueties; I, tearing al dueties lower, for that by commaundement thoſe dueties muſt be reiected in reſpect of the louing duetie that a Huſband ſhall require. Now, how far my nice Minion was from knowing this duetie, her coye demeanour and cunning behauiour hath maniſteſt. Yet how happie was my youth at laſt to be rid of ſuch a monſter! And monſter may I tearme her, in reſpect of her lewde behauiour; for was it not much better that her inſtancie ſhould haue beene knowne before he was faſt linked vnto her, then it ſhould haue beene found when it had been incurable? Doubtles it was a good cauſe he had to double his oriſons vnto loue, for ſo louingly preferuing him from ſo peſtilent a prittie-bird,—I ſhould haue ſaid pricking-burre, or paultry bauble.

BUt to come to my ſecond couple, which were ſeated oppoſite to theſe in an other corner, being a luſtful widdower that was courting a gallant wench, both of them being highly beholding to nature for her liberall ſkill in their making, which were thus placed: She was ſet down, ouerlooked by him ſtanding before her, hauing one of his hands leaning on her lap, and the other reſting on the wal, hauing therby (as I geſſe) the more libertie to uſe his pleaſure, in beſtowing kinde kiſſes and louing fauours; ſo he was ſeated, and thus he began to ſue: ' Faire Maide (quoth he), I know my experience to be greater then your praſtiſe, for that I haue tried, rules me by reaſon; hauing loued and liued with my loue, vntill by the fates I was bereaued of that fruit. ſo well liked I of my laſt loſſe, as my former good hap breeds an affured hope of the like good fortune, that being a helpe to further my will, and a meane to make a new choiſe; which change, what good it ſhall yeeld, ¹ your ſelfe ſhall chal- [1 ſig. C] lenge, whoſe good reporte hath bound me to commence my deſerts, to receiue their cenſure by your doome. To boalt what I am, were friuolous, for that your freends are already priue to my eſt; and to ſay how well I loue you, were bootleſs, for that women loue to trie ere they truſt; yet, vnles I ſhould ſay more then I haue ſaide, I ſhould ſeeme to ſay nothing; though to ſay more then is ſpoken

already, were meere ly foolifh. For thus ftands the cafe: I haue made choife of you for my fecond wife, and haue already your freends good will; there reflex therefore nothing but a confirmation of your duetie, in agreeing to that they haue confirmed:’ thus comming to a full point, he clofed vp his period with a brace of fmirking kifles, which wrought with his Louer, as a ftroꝝg pyll dooth with a fore ficke patient; namely, they forced her to anfwere him thus fhrewdely: ‘The affurance of your good fortune, Sir, hath made you highly beholden to her deitie, that dauncing in the morrice of good matches, you fhould be led by her to fo good hap; but, belike, it was ouer good to continue long, either her kindenes being ouermatched with your vnconftancie, or your good happe ouer ruled by fortunes cruelty; They euer change, and lightly, neuer but for the worfe; which the rather feemes fo vnto me, by the fure knowledge I haue of your fecond choice, that is fo far vnequall to your reported firft match, as I know your liking would not remain long, or my mifliking would come too too foone; becaufe I am not able to follow what your firft wife hath performed, and you will be vnwilling to beare with the wants your fecond choice muft be enriched with. But, peradventure, I miftake your meaning; for whereas I thinke you fue to haue me to your fecond wife, you feeke but to haue my good wil to liue with my freends; alas, good fir, my duetie (as you fay) muft not gainfay their pleafure, nor will I, for that matter; but with all my hart, if you haue their licence for your boord, haue my good will to obtaine your bed there alfo, for their houfe is at their owne commaundement.’

[f. sig. C, back] ‘Then doubt I not (replyed he) to ¹ haue you for my bedfellow.’ ‘But that doubt I (anfwered ſhe), for that I know the contrary.’ ‘Why dare you (quoth he) to difobay your Fathers commaundement?’ ‘No (fayd ſhe), fo it be for my commoditie.’ ‘It ſhall be both for your profite and preferment.’ ‘Make me to beleeeue that (quoth ſhe), and then, peradventure, it may be a bargaine.’ ‘Why, woman (ſaide he), I deferue your better.’ ‘Take her (anfwered ſhe), and I will not be matched to your inferiour.’ ‘Why, then, I fee you do ſcant loue me?’ ‘I vſe it not (quoth ſhe), and yet I ſweare I will mocke you, rather then marrie with you.’ With which, being highly difpleafed, he beftowed three or foure crabbed tearmes, being liueries of his cholerick long tounge, and fo departed.

A shame goe with him, thought *Honestie*, whatsoeuer she thought, and with all such Louers! louers, with a halter,—lubbers, I may better tearme them. What monstrous matches are such as are shuffled vp after the selfe same order! Suppose she had beene fearefull, and durst not to haue resisted the receipt of what she lothed; imagine she had beene foolish, and could not haue iudged of affection? thinke she had beene forward, and would haue beene glad of any one? alas! poore wretch, I pittie the supposition; what should I haue said to the confirmation? I know assuredly she should haue sighed, whatsoeuer I had saide; and mourning should haue been her companion, what ere had been my communication: he would haue daunst with her portion, while she had drooped through want of affection; he would haue loathed her company, for that she was not a dayly commoditie; her life should haue been like the hacknies that are at euery mans commaundement for the hire, and her ioy as momentary as the flourishing greene grasse in Iuly. Pitiuously should she haue liued, punished by him without pitie: and this is my reason of the possibilitie; for that it is most likely he loued her not, & how well any body vse them they loue not, let them speake that suspect not. Now, that he loued her not, may be proued both by his kinde of wrong, careleslye suing vnto her, peremptorily v^lsurping her Fathers ^[^r sig. C a] authoritie, which was a band to tye her to obedience, though a bad meane to obtaine her curtesie. For affection is not to be limited, nor loue to be compelled; but, contrarily, hatred followes feare, and feare forerunnes mislike; and how we loue those we regarde not, iudge they that woo and obtaine not. But this custome is too common and ouer cruell, namely, a wooing of freends, and a constraint of loue, I would not say compelling, but for feare it should haue been taken for compelling. Were *Honestie* a Iustice, they should either lye in the stockes a fortnight, or marry her I would match him with, which should seeke a wife after this order. I thinke, verily, he would rather stay his stint by the heeles, then be bound to the other inconuenience; and yet he could finde in his hart to binde another to *the* bad bargain. This is charitie, yea, & neuer a whit of honestie, being so farre from ciuilitie, as the Millers craft is from true dealing. Now, truly truly, to deale as we would be dealt with, is sent to the hedge a begging, and neighbourly loue is made a hacknie,

being so worne to the bones with seeking a good Maister, as his skinne will hang on the bush shortly.

I haue heard a reporte of a passing kinde man that complained of his wife at a Sessions for pissing a pot full, iudging thereby she was dishonest; and that same man shortly after burying his wife, sued to a maide, after the manner aforesaid; he had obtained her freends good will, and were at a point for the Maidens loue; yet on a time she was troubled with the head-ake at his being with her, whereof he so misliked, as in the morning he went to the Phisitions to haue their opinions to what disease it coulde turne, and vpon their reporte left her. I am assured I haue erred in no point, vnlesse I haue mistooke the last, putting the Phisitions opinion in the roome of his owne bad meaning: it was no disease, indeede, that misliked or misled him, but it was of the Fathers purse, not of the Daughters head; well, she was well provided for in missing of him, and if he sped any thing the better, let him boast of it; but ¹*Honestie* can iudge no better of the remnant of his companions, then his action giues the verdict of him, which is as bad as may be.

[1 sig. C 2,
back]

But to another that hapned on one that had the toothake, with whom he would not marry for feare the hollownesse of her tooth should corrupt her breath, and so annoy his colde stomack. It was colde indeede, and I would such stomacks might be heated with redde hotte gold, as cheerfull as scalding leade. Well, to a third: he liked her parents wel, for that they were honest & godly, and as well of the maiden, because she seemed modest; to be brief, he could find no faulte in either of them, onely his feare was that the Daughter would be somewhat shrewish, for that she had a long nose, and thereupon gaue her ouer. If her nose had beene long enough, I think she might haue smelt a knaue, but I am assured she knewe a churle, and so let her claime him wherefoeuer she sees him. Yet one more of the same stampe, and so we will leaue them. This was a wooer in graine, who had gone so far, as they were at next doore to be askt in the Church. The wedding apparel was bought, the day appointed, yea, and I may tel you, many of *the* gesse bid, only there was no assurance, for that he abhorred; but it fortunied that before the day there dyed a rich man that left a welthie widdow, to whom he made so secret loue, as he wonne her good will within a

fortnight after the death of his predeceffour; well, notwithstanding, to faue his counterfeit credit and preferue his hypocriticall honeftie, he reforted dayly to his olde sweete hart, with whom vpon some smal reason he fel at ods, vsing her so vnkindly in speeches, as he drew teares for sorrow. Glad of this, though turning his earnest into iest, he called her vnto him, in the prefence of many of her Fathers seruants; then swearing that if she tooke him not about the necke & kissed him, he would neuer marry with her as long as he liued. Which *the* yong Gentlewoman refused to doe, partly for that he had iniured her highly, but *the* rather least such fondnes should seeme immodestie to the seruants; vpon whose denial, in a great ¹ fume he [sig. C 3] flung forth of the doores, and in a rage as if of spight, within one fortnight after he matcht with the widdowe aforesaid. But to tell you what a life she lead with him, were to hunt from the purpose; yet assure yourselfe it was so bad, as *the* world iudged this maid neuer better blest then in not being bestowd ne cast away vpon him.

Such, and of the same sorte, are these money-woers, that sue first to the Father, to saue labour; for, speede they will; and if they misse in one place, they knowe another where they will practise. And how can it be iudged otherwise, seeing their meaning in vsing that meane importes no lesse? for, thinke they, 'if I haue the Fathers good will, the daughter will be easilie wonne; and if I misse of his, I saue that time and labour, in suing to the maide, besides the giftes I should bestowe.' Ha, ha! I haue him by sent: and what thinke you of him? in faith, no otherwise then *Honestie* beleeuers. You smell a Foxe? I, and a ranke one too, whose breach is so staine with this gilding matter, as it may easely bee iudged what muck hee loues. Alas! good hearts, that are coupled with such bad mindes, this is loue; true; but what loue? couetous loue, hatefull dissimulation, hypocriticall affection, and what not that is contrarie to the sweete foueraigne loue, which sues for kisses and not for coyne, which craues the heart & nothing else; for with it, al she hath is his; and he that wil looke for more, I would he had a halter; and he shall not want it in hell, howsoeuer he speedes here. Fie, fie! mariages, for the most part, are at this day so made, as looke how the butcher bies his cattel, so wil men sel their children. He that bids most shal speed soonest; & so he

[^r sig. C 3,
back]

hath money, we care not a fart for his honestie. Well, it hath not been so, and I hope it wil not be long so; & I wil assure you, loues common-wealth wil neuer florish vntil it be otherwise. Why, it is a common practize to aske the father what hee will giue with his childe; and what is that differing from cheapening an Oxe? And it is as common, that if she be fat, it is a bargaine, but if leane, she must stay another customer. Out, alas! what loue is this? in faith, if I ¹ might haue sped better in another place, come to notice after I haue bought your daughter, she shall pay for it, or I will make dice on her bones. A pittifull partenership, where there is no greater loue; and how can but one of them be vndone? He will vse her ill, because he loues her not; and shee cannot loue him for not vsing her well; for whome we feare we hate, and what then? Hee will practife her ende; she will wish his death; and while they liue together, it will be so full of heartbreakings through quarrels and contentions, as woe to them both, I, and to the third too, that was so forward to make so bad a matche. But, howsoeuer they two speede, I am assured shee will speede worse: as for hir husband, he will not want excuses to defend his knauerie; and hir Father must beleue him, because of hir former credit giuen vnto him; so that contented she must be, how discontented so euer she liues; and beare it she must, vntill her hart breake; which happie day must ende her miserie, and set my craftie wooer at libertie.

Thus much for my second corner: and now to my third couple, which were ciuilly seated on a benche together, they being, the one a batcheler, and the other a widdowe, which was wooed by him after this like order: 'It were follie, forseeth (quoth he), to vse circumstances, since you are so well acquainted with the like practize; but to leaue them and come to the matter, which is (as I thinke) the best meane to please vs both, you shall vnderstand that vpon the good reporte your honest life hath deserued, I haue conceived so good liking of you, as I should thinke my selfe happie if I should speede no worffe.' 'I thanke you (answered she) for your good will; but surely, Sir, I thinke you haue deceiued your selfe. For, peraduenture, you imagine, or it hath been vntruly reported, that I am the woman, which indeede I am not; namely, ritche, for that my deceased husband made some shewe to the world; but if that bee your thought, I

affure you you are deceiued.' 'You mistake my meaning (replied hee), for it is no such matter; I respect not so much your wealth, as ^[1 leaf C 4] I doo your matronlike modestie; my selfe is young, and I haue a trade, and am, I thanke God, of my selfe able to maintaine a woman. But I doo rather desire to match with your like, then with a younger, for that you knowe better both what belongs to a man, as also to vse thriftely what I get. And, moreouer, my selfe is not so young, but that I am meeter to match with a widdowe then to marrie with a maide, and would be most glad if it might be my good happe to speede with you.' 'I cannot tell (quoth she) what your good speede may be; I knowe you not, and therefore I hope you will giue me leaue to enquire of you; which done, I will send you your answere by such a day; in the meane time, I wish you well.'

I, mary, *Honestie*, & what then? no marry these: forth she went to her broker, to will him to search after his substance, vsing that manner which vsurers can best disclose, which is their practise in putting forth their money. This was a passing commoditie; for what better then a ritche widdowe? but that foolish enquire spoyle all; had shee thankd him heartily, desired farther libertie, and had made search into his estate secretly, shee had shewed her selfe the wiser; but so bluntly to saie, 'giue mee leaue to enquire of you,' shewed as bad bringing vp as might bee possible. But, tut! I like her the better, because she could not dissemble; for she, alas! did but followe the common trade, dooing with the ape but what she had seene done before her. She had heard her husband instruct his prentices to make a profit, and she thought she might trie the same for her own good. I would shee and others knewe what was good for them; they would then rather respect the man then money. But this couetousnes spoyle all, though 'I would I had more,' is too much in our mouthes; for, followed she not the greedie desire of adding muck to muck, might shee not as well haue liued with this man, that had a trade as good, yea, much better then her husbands was, as shee did before with him? Shee had no children; suppose she had, they ² were ^[2 leaf C 4, back] provided for well; and what greater charge would this haue brought? he had a care to liue, or else hee would haue sought to loue without respect; for who knowes not that she is as able to satisfie a mans desire that hath little, as she that hath much,

if we onely regarde pleasure? Take this on *Honesties* credit, that hee that buildes his loue on such reason, as hauing little, hee will chofe one that hath somewhat, wil proue a better match vnto thee, then him that brings mountaines. Beware when loue is vpholden with maintenance; if the heart remembers, 'I am thus much beholden vnto her, shee loued mee or else shee would neuer haue matcht with me; she made me a man, being before worfe then nothing; how much better might she haue done, if she had not been led with affection,' and such like; It will also remember the duetie this kindenes requireth, euen like for like, least the worfe crie shame of him. How happie should parents be, were this in their remembrance at their mariges making! how blessed should their children be, if the like practises were vsed! and what a flourishing commonwealth would that be, where equalitie of birth (which alwaies should bee regarded, specially on the mans side) should bee linked to abundance, whereby the number of gentle beggers should be decreased, and the misgouernement of wealth will be auoided. One man should not haue his cofers ful, and twentie want it that better deserue it. How many able men should we haue (if this were vsed) to serue and set forth men for the princes seruice, where now I am but one man, and I am bound but to my stint, to finde one mans charge, though I haue fise mens liuings. But no more! this is too serious for *Honestie*, & I meruaile how I fell into this vaine, since I studied to bee pleasant. What, thinke you, did my widdowe after her search of enquirie, for you must thinke that the batcheler longed for his answere? Marry, though she was not a foxe in her speeches, yet shee proued no lesse in her dooing, for now shee kept her house as closely, as hee dooth his holde craftely. She mislikt of the man: for what cause, geffe you? ¹if you knew as much as I knowe, you would sweare, not for lack of honestie, or because he was vnthriftie. But wil you knowe whie? he had not the hundreds lying by him, as the reporte went shee had left her, and therefore shee thought it needeles **any** one should lose so much labour, as to fulfill her promise in carrying his answere. Yet, if that were all, it were well; I, and it had been well for him (for the sauing of shoo lether) if she would haue spoken with him at his comming to fetch it: But my widdowe would not be within, or else she was busie; and thus was his kindenes

[1 sig. D]

requited. Now, fie of the diuell ! is this a meete reward for affection ? nay, suppose it be no more, the good will, was it well requited ? Me thinks that if his dog had come, hee deserued better entertainment then to haue been beaten away ; and shee had dealt better if shee had sent himselfe away with a crabbed answere, then so vnmanerly to vse him by sleeueles excuses. And well it were if shee had no more fellowes ; but out vpon them ! there are too many such, whose coye nicenes expresse their mischieuous fondenes ; for, speake they will with any man that come, vnles a Herald fore runnes the sewtor.

In my opinion, and it shall bee grounded vpon reason, such widowes are worthie to sit while their breeches growe to their seates, as refuse to answer all commers of what degree soeuer ; and because I promist you reason, this shall be it. Who knowes not, that whoso-euer sues for the like match, winneth a thousand incombrances with his good speede ? for he that knowes not that care shal be mingled with his best contentment, shall fall into a pitte before he be ware of it. And who, were it not for his foules health, would imbrace such an inconuenience for a little commoditie ? I, and the best mariage is but a little commoditie, in respect of the continuall carking that comes with it. If, then,—as who saies it is otherwise ?—a man makes so great suite for so small hearts ease (respecting the earthly pleasure), deserues not he a good countenance, or at least a welcome, that longs for so bad a bargaine ? In my iudgement, ¹ and it shall iumpe with [¹ sig. D.
back] mine opinion, that woman is much more beholden to the man that would match with her, then to her parents that haue brought her vp ; for they did what ere they did, of duety, & this doth what might be vndone, of mere deuotion. Why, thinke the best you can, thinke for your selues : suppose one that hath nothing, comes to craue your loue : did he only respect your wealth, without his owne welfare (and hee that thinks to haue welfare without dealing wel with you, he reckens without his hostesse, and shal finde a new bil of charges), had he not much better to hazard the taking of a purse by the high way ? Yes, doubtles ; for were hee by that means brought vnto miserie, he might haue death at his cal, to rid him from extremitie ; but now being grieved vncessantly, he may seeke for death, but meete with the diuell ; hope for an ende, but feele the want of it con-

tinually. Yet come we to one further point: imagine some men that bee ouer-unruly, desire to haue accessse into your companie: if you knowe them for such companions, I would holde you vnwise to admit them into your presence; but shall your hart but say, I suspect without trial, you cannot out-runne the crime of want of discretion. It is best, therefore, you that feare such reformed, to harbour your selues, during the time of the heate of the market, in such places as the countenances of your protectors shall preuent suspect, and disparage the practise of such vndecent behauiour; or otherwise, to appropriate vnto your houses such helps as shall bee likely to forestall the like mischief. That euery one may bee answered, is *Honesties* meaning; for vnles they bee, they haue not their due, nor doo you shewe your selues to be enriched with that curtesie which widdowes discretion dooth challenge. For, let me tell you, and ensure as many as knowe it not, that a man shall finde more pleasure in lying in the campe, being dayly threatned with the bullets of his enemie, then in lodging with a wife, vnles his wisdom be the greater. And I knowe you looke for my reason: then for this cause, for that their vnconstancie ¹ breedes more feare then the shot brings hurt; and their tender heart will craue more gouernement to content them, then the other will aske forecast to preuent the danger they bring with them. For a steele coate resists the harme of a musket; but what garment shall out stand her threatning of the horne? That man amongst Souldiers is counted accurst that is stricken with a great shot; and that husband thrife blest among married men, that is not continually wounded with some misdeameor or other he shall espie in his wife; well, I say no more, because I am a batcheler; but *Honestie* must speake the trueth, or shame will follow him.

[¹ sig. D 2]

It is wisdom to looke before lepping, but extreame follie to stand vpon nothing; hee or shee that makes many doubtles, shall neuer want care; and she wil il rule a charge, that cannot charme a knaue. Speake the diuell faire, and he will be satisfied; and what woman knowes not how to flatter? It is good to knowe vice, that we may shun that euill; and as good to trie the honestie of wooers, that you may not speede the worfe. You shall often finde a kings heart clad in a thred-bare coate, and a senators wisdom harbored in a youthfull

head; vertue goes not by birth, nor defecution by yeares, for there are olde fooles and young counsellors, counterfeit knaues & crabbed churles, the one being clad in a lambes skinne, and the other kept warme with Foxe furre. Nature makes, but fortune clothes; a rich knaue therefore may march in the habit of a true meaning gentleman, when poore *Honestie* must goe as he is able, bee it in a mouldie cassock. I haue heard it credibly reported, that there was a rich widdowe fell here in England, which had left her liuing enough to maintaine a younger brother; and vnto her did reforte such an one, as had not sildome flung out at a bootie, nor would haue cared much if it had been his father, so he had met him in a conuenient place. This young gentleman (yet not very young, for he was about fortie) came vnto this widdowe, to craue her good wil, vsing as speedie tearmes as he ¹ desired quicke speede. Hee tolde her his name, so ^[1st sig. D 2, back] well knowne throughout the countrie for a shifting liuer, as he spake no sooner then hee was well knowne vnto hir. Whome she vsed courteously, answering him after this order: 'I hope, gentle sir (quoth she), you will giue me leaue to answer you as speedely as you bluntly aske the question.' 'And with all my heart (replied hee), for that is my desire.' 'Then assure you thus much (said she), that if there were no more men in the world besides your selfe, I would not marrie with you.' 'A short and sower answere (quoth he); yet let mee assure you, that onely such an one (naming himselfe) will haue you,' and so tooke his leaue, departing in as good order as shee had in kinde manner vsed him. Shortly after, at a meeting with many of his companions, he craued their aide, finding them as forward to performe any thing hee should require, as hee would wish. Vnto whome hee shewed his whole intention, the rather desiring their helps, for that they had been partners with him in as great hazards; well agreed vppon the match, they rode towards the widdowes house, comming thither in the euening about supper-time, when it was very darke, whereby their companie coulde not bee defried. They knockte at the gate, and was answered by the porter, that being asked who was within, certified them according to his knowledge. Him they so hampered, as gagde hee was and bound, being laide forth of the way; which done, they passed further, entring the hall with their drawne swordes, where they found all the seruants at Supper. They

[¹ sig. D 3]

had no weapons neere them but bones, being vnmeete instruements to refist armed men; and dogges, they were not to be wonne by such baites. Therefore, easily one by one they were bound and laide on a heape; the wooer in the meane time, with two of his mates, being in the Parlor with the widdowe that was garded with two futors, being Gentlemen of account in that Country, he vnmasked himselfe, for they had al vifards, and tolde the widdow he was ¹ come for her; at what time one of them grewe cholerick, and I thinke it was he that was likest to haue sped best, for he was placed on the benche neereft to her hart, and drew his poyniard, the best weapon he had at that instant, making as if he meant to darte the same; but vpon better confideration had, he put vp his Dagger, and was contented to be bound with his fellowe. All of them being bound, they got *the* Widdowe forth, and bound her with a towel behinde one of them, hauing before their departure hid all the Saddles, and turned forth the Horses out from *the* house. Ouer a long plaine they rode, & so through a wood, where, being out of greateft danger, he himselfe, the wooer, got vp before the widdowe, entreating her to confider of their estates, not so much he himselfe respecting his own weale, as he regarded his freends welfare, whome he had drawn into that desperate action. But it was all in vaine, for agree she would not; she fware rather to dye then to consent, which seemed little to remedie his affection. Wel, in short time they were come to a place prepared for *the* nonce, where they found a good fire with a Parfon, and other good company assembled together about the same matter. It was a wonderfull rainie euening, so that all of them were throughly wet; but there she wanted nothing she could desire, nor spared he kinde words to winne her good will, which was so long in graunting, as before the obtaining of it, Hue and cry was followed into that Towne. Whereof he, hauing notice, came to her with his last hope, willing her, that as she was a woman, either then or neuer to consent to the sauing of all their liues. When she, seeing no remedy, but either she must relent, or they repent it: 'will you (quoth she) be good to my boy *Tom*?' for she had one onely childe called *Thomas*. 'To say I would (replied he), in this extremitie, might be saide to be but flatterie, but assure thy selfe I will, and much better then I will boast on;' vpon which agreement, they were forthwith married.

Soone after he called her aside, and tolde her she was now his wife, whose credit was her good regarde: 'we ¹shal, I know (quoth he), be brought for this before *the* counfel, at which time, vauesse you vse *the* matter thus cunninglye, as to affirme this was your owne practise, to shewe your loue, and shun a bad reporte, we shall, notwithstanding, smart for it.' Which she promised to-doo, and did indeede no lesse, all them being shortly after apprehended, and brought vp to answere it at the counfell Table, where she tolde so good a tale for him and his fellowes to the effect aforesaide, as the faulte was remitted, and they discharged. Now, that you may vnderstand how well he requited this her kindnes, she liued with him a long time, and yet lesse then a dosen yeeres; and dying, left this good reporte of his vsage towards her: namely, that neuer woman liued with a more kinde man then she had found him, with other such probable tokens or the certainty thereof, as a Countrie can witnes the same. Him selfe liued not long after her, at his death leauing her sonne *Thomas* fise hundred pounds by the yeere, ouer and aboue his own Fathers liuing, which he himselfe had purchased by his good husbandrie.

What say you to this vnthrift? was not she put to a shrewde triall? she was, and it proued passing wel. Wherefore, then, should yonger brothers be reiected, or why they that haue little, be vnregarded? surely, because the hart is couetous and mistrustfull, and womens mindes are aspiring, being neuer contented. They so much thirste after preferment, as often they ouer-leape amendement, and iumpe iust into a worser predicament.

Many looke so long for abundance of mucke, as ² they fall into a quagmire of miseries, hauing siluer to looke on, though wanting mony to supply many wants; hauing a faire shewe and a shrewde keeper, one that hath more then enough, & yet will not part with any thing: *Honestie* knowes many of these, and they feele more then I can tell you. Who goes, for the most parte, worse shod then the Shoemakers childe? and who hath lesse money in her purse, then she whose Husband hath most in his chest? ³ But, for that I am somewhat fraied out of my way, I will return to my first widdowe before my shooes be quite worne: My forenamed Bachelor, that neither by himselfe or his freends could speake with her to know her answer, deuised this conclusion, to send her a Letter by a freend, not so much

[¹ sig. D 3, back][² orig. as as][³ leaf D 4]

for the matter there in fet downe, as that *that* might be a meane to entice her to be spoken with, which, indeede, proued to some purpose. For to the Messenger she came, and after notice giuen from whome the Letter was sent: ' gods Lord (quoth she), did not my freend giue him his answere?' ' No,' replied the Messenger; ' for he craues no more by this Letter.' ' Surely (quoth she), I thanke him for his good will, but I am not minded that way.' ' What way? (replied he), not to marry?' ' Yes,' saide she, ' but not with one so yong.' Now you shall vnderstand her simple excuse, cleanly made; for in a mans iudgement it would not be thought there was much difference betweene their ages. And, as it was gathered after, she meant one way, and the Messenger tooke it an other; for she meant yong in substance, though he vnderstood it for yeers; as, after further talk, she plainly expressed. What shall *Honestie* say more of her? in sooth, nothing, but to pray, either for the amendement of her and her companions, or else that this punishment may be inflicted vpon them; that is to say, that they may be so haunted, vntill they deale better, as they may not peepe soorth of their houses, without as much wondermen[t] as the Owle hath that flieth in the day time. And doo they deferue lesse that make fooles? it hath beene a fustie saying, *Qui moccet moccabitur*, and, vntill that proue true by practice, as it falles out true often vnlookte for, we that are to speed shall neuer finde better. If all men will agree to *Honestie*, we wil keepe a Cronicle of such wenches; my selfe will be speak the registreship, and though it be no great office, yet it may doo much good. But now to a fourth kinde.

Which were a thrife-made, not a threed-bare Widdower, and a fise times left Widdowe, both of them being so much in Fortunes bookes, as they were endowed with the ¹ thousands. They soone agreed vpon the matter, and within a shorte time were married; vnto whose house, hauing heard them boast of their substance, I often resorted to see what good cheere they kept; I was twise there together in Christmas time, but neuer could see hotte meate, yet good store of cold, by reason they had had foure daies before many guests. But since the holly dayes, hoping for hotter fare, I found him and she set at a couple of red Herring & a slice of barrel butter: colde fare, as I thought, for a tuesday supper. Alas! how were the seruants dieted,

when they had no better? I would haue thought *the* faulte to haue beene in her, vntill she saide vnto me, that she was sorrye she had no better fare for *Honestie*; when the olde Churle replied, 'holde thee content, wife; he is welcome, I thanke God I haue this for him!' 'I thanke your worship,' saide I; though I thought, 'I besflrewe the Charles hart!' But there of force must I lodge too, for that I had ouer farre home, and he that had fedde me so hungerly, had found talke enough to keepe me with him till midnight. I must confesse I lay better then I had supped; lodge in the next Chamber to themselues, there being nothing but a thinne wall betweene vs. After my first sleepe, I heard them two very lowde, and though I did not greatly desire to be a partaker of their secreet, yet I could not choose, vnles I had beene either naturally or artificially deafe. They were at so hotte words, as he cryed, 'out vpon thee, old beggarly whore!' with other most shamefull tearmes; she therby being forced thus to complaine: 'Alas, that euer I was borne to see your face; I was no begger when I met with you, for I brought with me as good as twentie thousand pounds, which now being at your disposition, you deale thus crabbedly with me; meeting together in respect but yesterday, what hope resteth to me of the end, seeing the beginning is so bad? you diet me with hardmeat, and cheer me with crabbed vsage; I can neither haue a penny in my pursse, nor a good shooe to my foote. I greeue to heare my seruants repine thereat, though I cannot amend it, and ¹ for that I tell you of it which may redresse it, [*sig. E*] thus you reuile me.' 'Holde thy peace, olde whore (quoth he), or I will make thee; if they like it not, let them mend theirselues, and either charme your tounge, or I will clapperclaw your bones;' with which cooling carde, she was glad to be quiet, as I gesse, for I could heare no more of her at that time.

Now, *Honestie*, hauing leasure to thinke of what he had heard, still harpt of *the* twentie thousand pounds, which, as I thought, was meeter to haue made a King, then to haue pleased a churle; with *that* I condemned his cruelty, and pitied her chaunce, so long thinking on her hard fortune, as I fell a sleepe, taking vp the remnant of my mornings nap. Well, before I rose, my olde carle was vp, and before I was ready, gone abroad; when suddenly comming foorth of my lodging, forced to passe through his Chamber, I found the good olde

woman shedding teares so abundantly, as I could not but greeue for company. But, seeing me, she rowzed vp her selfe, and would haue shadowed her discontent; yet, at last, assured I had heard the iarre, she saide she was forrie I had beene disquieted; the which I excused, saying, 'I was more greeued for her then for my disquieting, for had that beene the worst, *Honestie* hath beene farre worfe troubled.' 'Ah, good sir (quoth she), this is their fortune that are couetous; for I had enough left me to haue liued like a woman, if I could haue been so contented; but aiming at dignitie, hath been my destruction, and longing after promotion hath brought me to this miserie; my last Husband was accounted a good housholder, and companion to the best in the parish; but he being gone, and my hope to become a Lady, hath ledde me to this ill bargaine. Ah, gentle *Honestie*, I was no meane woman when I met with him, but he thinkes, for that I haue turned my Cloth to filke, he hath made me happie. How happie had I beene, if I had neuer seene him; but too late it is to wish, and folly to complaine, for that it was my owne choice that hath matcht my selfe with such a churle. He clothes me in gay¹ coates for his owne credit, but with them cloyes me with multitudes of discontentments; abroad he is gone, and perchaunce I shall not see him till bed time; nor are such trickes plaide seldome, when he leaues nothing, what need foeuer we should haue of any thing, but what the household prouision is, the best being no better then your yesternights fare. If he brings any bodie home with him, we must run to the Cookes to saue fiering; nor can a bit of bread be eaten without an account giuen to him; he searcheth euery corner, & chides for euery candles end he findes misplaced; and if, perchaunce, he happe on a crust, he will make as much stirre as if it were the losse of a Cow; he will prie into the greace pot, and hunt after the Tappe droppings: to be breefe, the creame pot should be overlooked by him euery day, once at the least, and his fiering surueied as often; a Cheefe cannot be cut without his leaue, nor a sticke be burned without grutching. Nor doo I so much greeue at this in respect of my selfe, as for that my seruants want their due, their want being more irkefome vnto me, then this scant; for what will they let to reporte? and who can blame them? or who will staye in such an house, and not without reason? so that dayly discredit is heaped on vs, and con-

[1 sig. E,
back]

tinuall care for looking after new seruants, neuer from vs. This is my greatest hart breake; and my fute to haue this redressed, is our only breake-peace. He fumes when I informe him of what I haue heard, and stamper when I tell him it is not well; nor wil I tel thee all, for that this is too much, nor shouldst thou haue knowne of thus much for me, except his crabbednes had made the path. But, hark! he is come in; for the passion of God, hide thy selfe! for if he should know thou wert not gon, he will mistrust vs, and smart I shall for vs both.'

Now, the Diuell breake his necke, or God amend him, thoght I; yet, for feare of her harm, I was content to be lockt vp by her into a clofet, where I was conſtraind to ſtay, while the teeth chattered in my head, before we could be rid of him. Well, at laſt, by good fortune, a companion of his fetcht him ¹ forth to dinner, who, being [¹ sig. E 2] gone, I was let forth, an extraordinary fier being made for my welcome down; & to make me a mends, ſhe had ſent a bracelet ſhe had, of which he knew not, to pauue; prouiding ſo good fare for my Dinner, as I was not at better all the Chriſtmas. But while we were eating of it, our mirth could not be much, her feare was ſo great of his coming home; but we, making as quick ſpeede as our teeth would let vs, after we had doone, I thanked her, taking my leaue and departing. Wel, my backe was ſcarce turnde, when ſhe bid her men and maids to beſtirre them, that the kitchen might be dreſt vp, and the remnant of our Chriſtmas fire to be quencht and caſt into the priue, leaſt his ſearch ſhould finde out the brandes, and that breede no little diſquietnes to them all. Alas! poore wretch, thought I, how much ſeruants are there which liue at more eaſe, and ſtand in leſſe awe, then thou dooſt! Is this a wiues portion? doubtles, no; but a iuſt plague for couetouſnes; for they which cannot vſe a benefite when they haue it to a good purpoſe, ſhall want it when they would, and ſeeke it when they cannot finde it. Couetouſnes ſhall not eſcape hell; for how farre, I pray you, was ſhe from it? her good daies died with her matching with him; and if there be any purgatory betweene vs and hell, ſhe was in it, and thereby at the next doore to that dungeon. I would but all couetous mindes were plagued but with a dramme of the like diſcontent; I would haue theirs but a ſeaunenights puniſhment, whereas ſhe muſt endure, peraduenture, ſeaunen

[† sig. E 2,
back]

yeeres torment. *Honestie* thinkes such a messe of miserie would bring them to a banquet of happines at their deliuerie from that wretchednes. If many of our coye dames, that cannot be content with any thing, and are so curious, as daily dainties seeme nothing vnto them, were but pincht a while with her morfelles, I am perswaded it would saue their husbands a great deale of charges in their diet thence after, and would make their seruants much happier, by being freed from much needeles labour. Their houses would be pulled downe, and the ¹delight of their curious poked ruffles would be set aside; they would not respect *the* superfluous dishes they vse, nor regarde their superstitious curiositie in rubbing *the* flowres of their houses: what should I say more? they would vse obedience towards their Husbands more, and brawling with their seruants lesse, they would thinke of their owne happie liues, & pittie others: they would seeke to please, and be more easly pleased; they would liue contentedly, and be thankfull for so great prosperitie.

The filhe that hath bene stricken with the hook, feares the baite; the childe that hath burnte his fingers, dreads the candle; the horse that hath bene punished with the spurre, suspects the wagging of the heele; and the apprehended theefe begins to thinke on the halter. What delight brings sweete things vnto them that neuer tasted of sharp sauce? or, what an indifferent opinion carrie they of prosperitie, that haue neuer bene in miserie? The vnriden Colte bites the snaffle, while the olde horse is glad to play with the bit; and they that are vsed to shackles, weare *them* without much annoiance; for that it is vse that gets experience, and experience that brings profit. When a curst Cow hath short hornes, harme is lesse suspected; and if a crabbed cur be muffled, there can be no danger. There are both baites to entice, and bobbes to make to forbear; allurements to winne, and corrections to driue away; and he that thought this to be needefull, knowes best to vse it, which happens alwaies to vnbridede nouices, once good speede egges vs to a second aduenture; and, if twise a theefe hath escaped the halter, he will neuer leaue vntill he purchase tiborne. 'My last Husband was so good,' makes some so desirous of a second, as their hastie bargaine bringes ouerlate repentance. 'Like will to like,' quoth the Diuell to the Collier, and some will neuer be satisfied vntill their mouthes be filled

with Clay. He that hath enough, seekes for more, and so I carrie a great countenance, I care not how I am beloued. Indee, what cannot money doo, that will buye any thing? and yet honestie will purchase that ¹ which all the muck in the world cannot compasse, [¹ sig. E 3] namely, a good report for euer. Who knowes not that the couetous man cannot liue quietly? and why wil we not knowe that the aspiring minde shall be brought lowe? The loue of your wealth is in your owne hands, but the key of your wittes kept by a higher guide. You may chose a rich man, and hunt after an honest (yet riches and honestie goe sildome together), but to say it shall be for your weale, must craue anothers leaue. Hee that giues all things, can giue thee both; and if thou wilt taste of his liberalitie, built on his charitie, suspect not, and speede well, feare, and speede ill; let therefore all thy care be built on his kindenes, and thou wilt be better contented with a kinde begger then a crabbed churle. To take heede by another mans harme, is a louing warning; but if thou wilt needes try, take the hazard. When our neighbours house is on fier, we haue neede to bestirre vs; and he that sits still at such an extremetie, is worthie to taste of the like miserie. To looke ere we lep is good counsell, yet, to looke hartely, and lep faintly, makes many to fall into a ditch dangerously; well, a word to a wise man is enough, and there are few women but haue store of wit, if they adde discretion vnto it. *Honestie*, therefore, wishes them to vse it so well, as they neuer speede ill.

A fift forte now followeth, which was a couple standing in the midst of the company, both of them being of equall yeares. He was a young ciuill gentleman, no lesse proper then hee seemed wise, his discreet gouernement beautifying both; but she, though shee had wit at will, and was very proper, yet lacked shee the other step to wisdom, namely, discreetenes in her behavior. Her immodest fondnes gaue suspect of vnciuill lightnes, so that her ouerforwardnes seemed to ouerlay her louers affection. Shee would hang about his neck before all that company, as a iacke of Napes doth sitting on the bear-herds shoulder, and kisse as openly, as a dog scorners carelesly. She followed him at heeles like a tantinie pigge, and hong about him as if pinned to his shiue. He could not stirre without ² her company, [² sig. E 3, back] nor scarce goe to make water, but she would awaite on him. Thus

much did she not let to doe openly, and therefore I had the more desire to see how she spent her time secretly, which was as contrarie as might bee; for whereas she would bee mad merrie in his company, in his absence she would be as mad melancholie. Shee then would sit in a corner, as a dogge doth that is crept into a hole, hauing done a shroude turne, wetting her couch with teares for the lack of her sweet heart, as a childe doth the bed for want of a chamber-pot. But, being in a good vaine, shee would pen passionate sonnets, and, in that humor did I once take her, when she had newly finished this amorous dittie:

S Ad is the time while my deare loue is absent;
 Eise waile my misse, and tongue bewailes him wanting;
 Heart bleedeth teares that doo encrease my torment,
 And yeelds forth sighes which set it selfe a panting;
 While he is absent, such is my delight,
 As is the saylers in a stormie night.

*If I chaunce sing, with sighes my songs be graced,
 And in my tunes, my grones my baces be;
 Griuous complaints are for the trebles placed;
 The meanes be teares, the tennor miserie.
 Foure partes I beare, and want the fiste alone,
 Which is my ioye that with my loue is gone.*

*When I should speake, my tongue forgets it talking;
 When I should write, my fingers are benommed;
 When I should goe, my feete haue lost their walking,
 And euery part is dead, of sence bereaued:
 Nor can I tell what is the cause of this,
 Except because my heart with him gon is.*

*Thus dayes are nights to me, while he is wanting,
 And meriest songs are plaintes for ioy departed;*

[leaf E 4]

¹ *My mirth is mone, my sorrowe succor wanting,
 And fences gon, my bodie haue vnharted:
 So that I liue aliue, as being dead,
 And by his absence sole, this death is bread.*

After the selfesame order spends shee her well spent time, yeelding

such bitter sighes, while she is setting down the like passions, as a horse doth hartie neefes, that is troubled with an extreame colde. Then, pausing a while on that she hath done, weighing the estate of her lamentable case, shee castes her selfe vpon hir bed, breathing against the fates the rancor of her heart, after this manner: 'Vniust and cruell sisters, that haue prolonged my dayes to endure this miserie; is this the force of your decree, to decreafe my ioy by increasing my dayes? Haue you drawne to this length the thread of my life, now to cut the same with so sharpe an edge-toole? Cruell and vnkinde are ye, so crabbedly to deale with a poore virgin, suffering me to liue to endure this crueltie.' There, making a full point, would she lie gasping as if she were giuing vp the Ghost; till at length, hauing gathered winde, shee would thus begin to murmur against *Fortune*: 'Vnconstant dame, so much delighting in mutabilitie, as all thy ioye is to alter chances! How wauering is thy wheele, and how vncertaine thy fauours! the one still turning, and the other neuer remaining long, where so ere they are bestowed. Was this the pittie of your heart, to set downe so vnmercifull a doome, as I should alwaies rest unhappie? You whirle your wheele about to please your selfe with the turning, tossing thereby vnto me one miserie vpon another; then easing me of that burthen, to make the next seeme more displeasing vnto me; thou shewes me my harts ioye, and sets me on the top of delight, to beholde the difference betweene weale and woe. But, from thence thou throwest me as quickly downe, as I was ioyfully seated, letting thy wheele rest as ouerlong, while I lie in the dungeon of vnceasing paine, as it did too too little stay at the ^[1 leaf E 4, back] height of my pleasure. Thou giues me kinde words and cruell fare, happie sightes and horrible heart-akes; thou shewes me rest, and fees me with trouble, setting me at the table of dainties, yet binding my hands leaſt I should touch them, so far am I from tasting of their sweetnes. Vnkinde and vnconstant fortune, what chance had mankinde to be charmed to thy beck? and, wherein are we more vnfortunate, then in being forced to obay fortune?' To which interrogation, her selfe would answere with a flat mad fit; cursing her parents that begot her; her birth day wherein shee was brought forth; the nurse that gaue her sucke; the cradle that lulled her asleepe; death, for that hee ended not her dayes; and her selfe, for that she

was. Now tearde she her haire from her head ; anon she vnapparelled her selfe to hir smooke ; then, like a spirit would shee daunce the Morrice about the chamber, and soone flossing her selfe downe by the fiers side, fit no les senceles then her actions had been witleffe, a long time resting as in a traunce. But, at last, as ouerlate comming to her selfe, shee would, looking on her selfe, seeme to bee afraide of her selfe ; sorrowfull to see the fruite of her forsaken reason ; and rising, would soone make her readie. Being readie, shee fell vpon her knees, crying the Gods mercie, and powring forth abundance of teares, in token of her penitencie. And after that, being indeede in her rightest minde, shee tooke her lute, finging to her fingering this sonnet :

W*hat booteth loue, that liking wants his ioye ?
Griuous that ioy which lacks his hearts-content ;
The sight of sweete in tasting of anoy,
Ads but more grieffe to former hearts-torment.*

*What sweet in loue to liue debarr'd of loue ?
Soure is that sweete as honny mixt with gall ;
Loue with vnrest the heart to passions moue,
That fighting sing, and finging sigh withall.*

[¹ sig. F]

¹*While eyes beholde the pleasure of my heart,
Heart ioyes through eyes in gayning of that sight ;
But when that pleasure from mine eyes doth part,
Heart partes with ioy, and rests in heauie plight.

And tongue may sing a hei ho for my heart,
That through mine eyes doth finde both ioy and smart.*

Which musick would bee so metamorphosed, as, in truth, her finging would turne to sighing, and her playing to complaining, when, in a rage, she would throwe her lute downe, beginning to dilate on her loues vnkindnes, that could be so cruell to stay foure and twentie houres from her. Now, found she fault with her selfe for being so fond on him, that forbearde so carelesly her companie ; and, by and by, in a great rage swearing to forsake him, she settled her selfe to frame a rayling letter for a last farewell. But, before shee had scarce written an vkinde worde, she paused on the matter, casting both pen,

inke, and paper from her; yet, vpon her second aduice, about she goes with a fresh charge to pen a crabbed charme, and had gone so farre as she had set downe, *Fie, vnkinde wretch!* And there, againe, in a doubt of going forward, or leauing the rest vndone, shee gnawed so long vpon her pen in studying what to doe, as she had eaten it almost quite vp. But, at last, with a resolution, she played the woman, falling into so kinde a vaine of scoulding, as she had charged him with a thousand discourtesies for missing one nights resorte vnto her. And, as she was concluding her colour, with a protestation neuer to desire to see his face againe, in came one of her sisters with newes that Master *Anthony* was belowe. Which so quite purged her of her melancholie, as in a rage she rent the paper, and cast all her anger with it into the fier, posting with such haste to her sweete-heart, as in stead of running downe, she tumbled downe a whole paire of stayres. Which bad beginning was carelesly put ouer with the conceiued ioy of his presence; shee entertaining ¹ him with a kisse, for that he was not forward enough to bestowe on her the like fauour. But ere long, shee began to perceauie that Master *Anthony* was changed, being nothing so frolick of his kindnes as hee had been, and it was no maruel. For some reporte of her fore-used fondnes was come to his eares, that being no small frost to nip his former affection; so that his onely comining was to make that conclusion she was of late imagining, soone finishing in wise and discreet tearmes that her suspect was penning. Vpon whose departure, with the paune left of his resolution, my minion fel into a sound, there being such a stirre for her recouerie, as what for running for *aqua vitæ*, posting for ale, plying warme cloathes, and such like, there was no lesse rule then is in a tauerne of great resorte. 'Here, forsooth,' saith she that had the *aqua*, '*come quickly;*' 'By and by,' answered shee, being called that went for the ale; the rest no other wise replying to euery question and commaunde. Well, at length life was got in her; though no words could bee drawne from her; but, being got to bed, she song ere long like a bird of Bedlam.

In which fit I left her, more pittying her peeuishnes then her passions; the rather lesse regarding either, for that I knew that violent fit would not stay long. But, to tell you what *Honestie* thought all this while, for I knowe that is your longing; and, if you

beshrowe any body, blame her for not letting you haue your will
 sooner, by keeping me so long there against my will. For vnwilling
 I was to stay there so long, and as loath to leaue her before shee had
 left at a full point. That you might know all, was my wish; and
 since I haue mine now, you shall not bee long without your wil.
 She neuer fighed hartely, but I laught as merely, being as often
 readie to pisse my breeche for ioye, as she was to shed teares, which
 came from her as had at commandement. And, wherefore was
Honestie thus vncharitable, thinke you, reioycing at his neighbours
 miserie? Surely, because her selfe was so foolish to bee so disquietly
 moued with nut-shells: would it not haue made a ¹ horse breake his
 halter, to see her mumble to her selfe as an ape mowes at his own
 shadow? Doubtles,—may I speake it without the suspect of arro-
 gancy?—*Honestie* hath as much holde of his ciuilitie, as a mare hath
 of her honestie; and yet, I might as well be hanged as be kept from
 being merry when she mourned. A Camelion cannot change her
 selfe into more kinde of colours then shee would vse change of
 motions. Sometimes shee would walke with her hands clasped, and
 her eyes cast vp to heauen, as if shee were sent for, with all speede to
 render an account of her passions. Anon, she would runne about the
 chamber like a hare that had lost her way; then, by and by, would
 she houle like a kinde dogge that had lost her master. After that,
 girne like a Monkie that sees her dinner; and ere long be as dead as a
 dore naile, lying by the fier side as a block doth at the backe of a
 chimney. And this last *smile* proues not worst, for she burned no
 lesse through the cinders of too kinde affection, then the logge dooth
 with the helpe of charke-coles.

Was not this a monstrous fit, that had so many motions? Why,
 if *Honestie* should tell you how shee would sometimes bite of her
 owne nailes, knocking the wall with her feete, praunsing on the
 ground, and lepping of and on the bed, you would thinke hee had
 to doe with an vnruely iade. Fie, no, she was a mankinde creature!
 and I would not offend them for a kingdome; but this *Honestie* is
 such a pestilent spie-fault, as he cannot see a wench out-start the
 bounds of modestie, but straight he hollowes the sight of a striker,
 thinking it vnpossible that if shee want maidenly behauiour, shee can
 haue womanly honestie. Well, I knowe some will say hee is a pick-

thanke; but were not they shonne-thankes, they would speake better of *Honesties* sonne. But thus much for *Honesties* credit; and now, againe to my craft-loue, that had crauled so farre into affections extremitie, as she had lost the habit of her customers curtesie. I went once more of deuotion to see her, because I left her in so extreame an agonie, and it was ¹within two dayes after; Whome then I ^[1 sig. F 2, back] found clasped within a new louers pawes, as iocunde with him of mine honestie, as euer I sawe her pleasant with Master *Anthonie*. And what thought *Honestie*, then, thinke you? in faith, no otherwise then I am assured you doe now. I thought vpon such fondnes the prouerbe was builded, 'hot loue wil be soone colde;' but enough of that in another place, and thus much more of her at this time.

She was as glad, I warrant you, of a loue, as a wried iade is of a faire way; and he, being tyred, is not more glad of a stable, then she was desirous of a babell; it is onely for rime at this instant, and therefore let it passe (I pray you) with your fauour; but, whether it doth or no, I beshrewe my name if I get any blame. For my tongue will not amble out of the trueth, though I should digge out my guttes with the Spurre, 'Beware least you offend.' There is one still at mine elbowe, and sayes I must take heede how I dissemble, since *Honestie* is become a deitie. I would I were not, or went not so vnuiſible: for then I should not craule so easly into maydens chambers, and heare them boaste of so many fauours bestowed by them on this day; so many kisses giuen to one; another vnloosing her garter, yea, and she thought hee went not high enough. Well, but that I am mercifull, and will not name you that are so immodest as to boast of such lightnes, for if I should, I should quite fray away many of M. *Anthonies* companions from bestowing their affections on so liberall whipsters. But I saye no more, for shame, hoping I shall haue no cause to speake of the like againe, you will become so cinill; then, thus much for you, and now to another.

This way a coy dame, whose nice strangenes moued me not to the least admiration; she floode iust at the doore, to whom not so few as twenty had in my veine made suite. They were of sundrie sciences, and of all degrees, that had tooke the deniall of her, which made mee the rather to admire the cause; and, to obtaine my longing, I lodged mv ² selfe that night vnder her bed. When she was layed, and one of ^[2 sig. F 3]

her mothers maides with her, shee began thus to parly: 'Wot you what, *Nan* (quoth she), how many futors thinks thou haue I sent packing to daye?' 'Not so many (answered the maide) as you did the last time you were there.' 'Yes, faith, girle, double' (replied she). 'And found you so many faultes in these (quoth *Nan*) as you did in the other?' 'Nay, I trow, wench (answered she), I let not them passe in whom I discover not many ouer-flippes.' 'And what were their faults, I pray you?' quoth the girle. 'Some of them had store of wealth (answered she), but little honestie; other were honest enough, but too too hard fauoured; some had good faces and bad bodies; other being proper, had crabbed countenances; some were amiable for fauour, perfect of bodie, yet ill legged; other, which were well legde, shaled with their feete, or were splafooted; and, to be briefe, they that trode right, were either clouterly caulfed, tree like set, spindle shankte, or bakerly kneed; onely there were two exquisitely shapte, whereof one was too tall, and the other too too lowe. Thus much for their parts, and now to their properties.

'They that were wealthy were meanelly qualited, and they that had many good properties were moniles; some had good touns, and spake well, hauing as ill gestures; others were rich and seemed wise; those I suspected to be wenchers. And, to make as shorte worke in telling thee of them, as I made speedie haste in sending them packing, either I mislikte their estates, scorned their perfonages, lothed their want of qualities, or could not away with their kinde of wooing.' 'But shal I be so bolde (quoth *Nan*) to aske you one more question?' 'I, twentie, and thou wilt; for, in faith, I haue no list to sleepe.' 'In footth forfooth, then (quoth the girle), what manner of man shal he be with whom you will match?' 'Mary, such a one (answered she) as shalbe the onely matchles creature in the worlde.' 'But how will you meete with him?' replied *Nan*. 'As he shall light vpon me by Fortune.' 'But Fortune is blinde (quoth ¹ the wench), and may lead him to another in steade of you.' 'Yet, as she is blinde (replied the other), so is she a Goddesse, a good supporter of my chaunces; and I know my repute is fet so neere her elbowe, as she cannot forget me if she would.'

[* sig. F 3,
back]

I, marry, sirs, you talk of a wench, and what w[^o]ts this of a proud one? is it not great pittie but nature should haue compaffion on this

neate creature, and shape for her a mirrour of meane worth? Now, of my troth, *Honestie* likes such an one; and why, thinke you? I will tell you my reason, and if it iumpes with your conceite, say you mette with a kill Crowe. I am assured that they that are of my minde shall escape a great deale of trouble; for, of mine honestie, if I should light on such an one, I know certainly I should be quickly rid of a neere mishap, in being preuented of matching with a nice ninnie by a nice body; for not being the paragon of the worlde, would keepe me from marrying with the onely paltrie one of *the* worlde; whether, then, thinke you such to be profitable members of a common wealth? Howfoeuer you think, *Honestie* hath said, he thinks them hurtfull to none that escape them, for *that* their folly onely hurtes themselves, dooing good to others, in the like manner as he hath tolde you. Trot you, and you will, to trye your Fortune, and runne to wooe such curious customers; but say I bid you take heede, leaſt you reſiſt good lucke, by being importunate to wooe them, with whome you shall winne a masse of manner-les Monkish trickes. And I ſpeak eſpecially to you, that hunt after monſters of modeſtie, deſiring to haue the maidens you would matche with, as very matrones as your mothers. Beware you light not vpon an ouerweariſed, conceited ſollom-bird, being one that hath beene ſo curious to be talkte with of any, as, hauing liued ouer long without one, is become glad of any. *Honestie* knowes ſuch, and you may be troubled with ſuch, and how can you thinke your ſelues vnworthie? In faith, ill conceited birds, if you thinke your ſelues ſo vnwiſe, as you are vnable to gouern a wilde wench, you will ſhewe your ſelues more fooliſh if you match with a nice no- [leaf F 4] maide. But what ſaide *Honestie*? be there any ſuch? I, that there are, ordained, for the nonce, to nurture ſuch noddies. It is as caſie to be miſlead by hypocrisie, as it is follie to truſt to an vncertaintie; and it is more vncertaine to know now a daies whether a woman bee honeſtly modeſt, or knauighly coye, then whether a Smithfeelde horſe will proue good or iadiſh.

See how I haue a tale by the end, of a ninnie of my now handled maidens qualitie, which was a Miſers Daughter in the low Countries. Who was ſo proper a peece of fleſh, as I can tell you we haue not many Oyſter women that out goes her in hooke ſhoulders. By reporte ſhe was a louely one; but that ſhe was monſtrous blobber

lipt, and stoopt somewhat vnreasonably in the vpper parte of her backside; but that is no matter, her father was richer then most in that Countrie, and why should not she thinke her selfe the properest of a thousand? of *Honesties* word, so by likelyhoode she did; and if you say not so anon, then say I haue heard a lye. She thought her selfe so proper, as none vnder a Burges his eldest Sonne might sue vnto her, and he too to be no faultie gallant; for he with all comers should be so surely sifted by her, to see whether they trod their shooes awry or no, as the Miller doth the grift before he mingles chalke amongst it. She would haue a fling at their heades, to see whether they were round like a ball, or long like a bottell; and so from euery parte, til she were past the vndermost parte of their Pantoples. And, in all of them she would be sure to finde some fault or other, the least being a sufficient cause to cut off their proceedings. Thus dealt she so long, as at last her doults age was vnawares come vpon her, making her fustie curiositie a shamefull mockerie throughout the Countrie; so that the generall reporte of her bruted ignomynie made her growe glad of any companie; and now faine would she be married, though loth to encrease her shame by matching with farre worse then she had refused being offered, and ¹ therefore, thinking to hinder the make-speede of murmured ignominie, with a craftie colour of a continuing care to couple her selfe to one of Fortunes darlings, she concluded there should be a Lotterie, and whose chaunce it was to be drawn by her should onely possesse her withered self. You must thinke that many were glad to win her; for whom almost will not wealth wooe to a bad bargaine? My storie reportes that of all fortes, some for pastime, and others for profite, put their scrolles into fortunes budget, and on the day when my minions draft should be manifested, who should haue her by lot, but such an one as *Tom-wittles* is, that will cry if one offer to take away his bable!

[1 leaf F 4,
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A futable mate for so long a search; there was but one grand foole in a Country, and see how Fortune had kept her for him. Now, such chaunce follow like curious coye wenches; and may neuer wiser persons match with them. And are they not, thinke you, the meetest for them? For they desire to haue them that haue the smallest faults, and *Honestie* thinks it the least fault in a man to be a foole. Who is more proude then a foole? and what woman more

coy, for the most parte, then she that hath least reason for it? The Crow likes her own birde best, though it be the blackest; and would not we haue women thinke well of themselves? I pray you let them haue their willes; or they will, whether you will or no; and if you like them not, you may leaue them; and with as good reason as they will be sure to deale so with you, vlesse you highly please them. The Assē hath a curious eye, and *that* makes his pace so slowe; for short legges will trippe at euery stone, and what, she is not afraide to fall on a stone! And reason too, but they will neuer be happie, vntill Tom foole and his fellowes be banisht for throwing stones at them, which often hurt their bellies, whereas their falling breakes but their knees. Alas! poore asses, that your eyes cannot keepe you from burthens, as they make you ouer-leape often vnkowne diamonds. But what are more pretious then pleasing thoughts? and what fancies are more full of pleasure then ¹those that most extoll ^[1 sig. G1] our selues? This arrogancie is an infectious pestilence; for we get pride one from an other, as we purchase the plague in a mortalitie. But once more returne we to the merry talke of our coye Maiden.

After a long progresse passed in description of the sweet hart she would haue, being such an exquisite proper qualited Squire, as is scarce one in a whole Countrey, *the* maid fell with her to this point: 'Now, of my troth (quoth she), by your leaue, I am not of your minde; for such a matchles fellowe is as meete a baite to entice many women to doo his wife wrong, as a faire woman shall haue sutors to doo her Husband a shrewde turne. And, therefore, as I would not wish to be matcht with such a crabbed peece of flesh as none can fancie, so desire not I to holde a mark for euery one to shoote at, the rather for that there are fewe men which will refuse a kinde offer. Beware when the woman wooes! if she be perceiued to be forward to some dispositions, she shall not want the offering of a bob; so that the bobbing bable shall bob the foole with her own curious choice.' Which knauish quip did so nip my Mistres Daughter on the head, as in troth she left arguing, and fell harde to scolding.

This is bobbing with a witnes, thought *Honestie*; but surely it were pittie it should not be true in some cases; and in those onely would I wish it true, that striue so far to out-goe their fellowes in superexcellent obiectes.

[1 sig. G,
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Beware the Foxe that hath the smootheſt ſkinne! it is ſigne his coate is olde, and his wit not young; he will be ſure of a gooſe in ſtore, when many of his neighbours ſhall want one. I know ſome, about whome Nature hath beſtowed ſo long time in ſhaping faire faces with proper bodies, as ſhe hath at laſt for haſte beene conſtrained to let them paſſe with vnperfect hartes. She muſt performe her ſtinte, and a time is limited her to faſhion euery childe; by reaſon, then, they muſt haue the pureſt harts, *that* haue the vnlikeſt ſhapes. I know what you will ſay, and therby, wil onely ſeeme to gainſay *Honeſtie*, for that it is a Prouerbe, *1 Crooked without, and crabbed within*. Of troth, I muſt confeſſe, that it is very likely, though not alwaies true (for, no work-man but hath ſometimes a miſchaunce happen to his moſt curious worke, after the finiſhing therof, either by a fall or ſuch like caſuall chaunce), that a halting bodie hath a diſſembling hart, and a miſhapen creature a crabbed diſpoſition; and we doe finde it commonly, that vnder fouleſt aſpects are hidden the faireſt harts, though I know women accompt blacke thinges to be of leaſt worth. But ſearch againe, and looke what dye is more perfect, or what will take ſoile ſooner, then the milke-like white? well, the maidens propoſition pleaſed *Honeſtie* ouerwell, as you may geſſe by my long ſtay vpon it; but I will aſſure you it diſpleaſed no les my yong miſtres. Alas! it is a little thing that will not diſpleaſe them whom nothing can pleaſe: and ſhall we thinke a wench could poſſibly pleaſe her long, vnto whom ſo many men were diſliking? Now ſurely he ſhall haue a new accompte, that reckons on leſſe then this; namelye, that his matching with ſuch a minion, which was ſo curious to be pleaſed, will craue as great care to be kept pleaſed, as a iade will require arte to be kept from tiring. Nor doo I ſay ſhe wil be tired; I would rather be driuen to affirme he ſhalbe iaded, though with ſuch an one as will neuer be tired.

But let ſuch as my Miſtres Many-miſlike is, take heede leaſt by their coye kindenes they kill their harts whome they would gladly ſaue after, with all their arte, and cannot. How eaſie is it to put that away with our little finger, which we would willingly recouer againe with both our hands. I haue knowen ſome Faulkoners that haue beene ſo curious in dieting their Hawkes, as a nice curteſan is of her fare; and yet ſometimes they haue ſearcht a whole day after the kill-

ing of a carrion Crowe, and mist of it too. The faire lastes not alwaies; and such as lightly regarde a good bargaine when it is proffered, may trie the market a twelue moneth after, and misse of the like offer. The rolling stone gathers no mosse, nor the running fan'cie is worth the catching. They shalbe sure to meete with a fickle ^[¹ sig. G 2] hart that match with such a wauering loue; and an vnconstant affection is better lost then found. And for that I am entred into the path of vnconstancie, I wil come to a seauenth enemy, which a couple harboured that stood behinde the doore.

He was a Prentice that had foure yeers to serue, which I certainly vnderstoode afterwards, though at that instant I geste no lesse by his fearefulnes to be seene; wel, these had so wooed and wonne the one the other, as sure they were, hauing remained so by the space of three yeers; yet now there was dislike growen betweene them; firste, springing from the woman, that was discontented that she had alreadie lost so much time, being yet bound to endure a longer stay. Who knowes not the certaintie of her presumption, confirmed by an order of the Cittie of London (which is, that if any man, standing bound for the seruing of yeeres, entangle himselfe and marrie before the tearme of his yeeres ended, he shall double his prentiship), and, therefore, must she either out-stay them, or binde him by the hasty match to seauen yeers more seruice. Vpon this inconuenience, mislike harboured in her bosome, hauing tied that with her tounge which she could not loose with her hands; so that mad melancholly she was for the matche made by her selfe, that tooke so small delight therein.

Now, I would all might be serued with *the same sauce*, thought *Honestie*, that so soone tying themselues, desire as soone to be loosed; and, it is great maruell when it falles out otherwise, especially in these daies, wherin constancie is made a hackney. *Lingring loue breeds mislike*; and how can that loue be faithfull that is fastned with so slender a thong? There is a thing which maintaines the coherence of two harts, which, if it be long wanting, our loue will proue but watriſh affection; I meane, that certaintie of an euerlasting happines, with an assurance of a continuall earthly pleasure. There comes many faire Horſes into Smithfeelde in a twelue moneth, which make many that ²are sped alreadye, to wish themselues vnprouided, to ^[² sig. G 2, back]

deale with them; for all men haue not keeping for two Geldings. It is time that makes a iade knowen; and our knowledge *that* wishes him further from vs. Many thinges must alter in seauen yeeres, for that wonders happen in a moment. In one day a begger and a King are made equal; both the pompe of the one, and the poore estate of the other, being buried in dust. Losses come soonest vnlooked for, and the worst bargaines are gotten with the greatest search; neede raiseth the market; and much enquirie after a commoditie engenders suspect there is scarcitie thereof. What cannot golde doo? and may it not, then, easly conuert a hart that longes after it? There are many enticing baites that change many mindes; & who wil not striue for the golden Apple? onely except those that know they cannot get it, though they are deseruing thereof, which impossibilitie must needs hatche miserie. How be cormorants more plagued, then by a disapointment of their purpose? They that forestall markets, make often times but bad bargaines, as well as the sluggard that comes a day after the Faire.

Is it not folly to striue to keepe a wet Eele by the taile? or what commoditie ariseth of holding the Diuell by the great toe? the one is ouer-quick, and the other wonderous strong; and, in *Honesties* iudgement, a knowne losse, the sooner it comes, the lesse it grieues; and better it is to be without company, then to be matcht with anemie. Slipperie ware is not *the* best Marchandize; and what requires more care, then Glasse that is most brittle? I know you wil say a womans hart is as tender, and *that* I think no lesse. Then, since we must hazard our welfare, that are constrained to deale with such pure metall, being tied to that traffique; let vs not bestowe all our hope on a peece we know must stay so long by vs, before we can make profite thereof. *Honestie* is rather a professed solicitor for a woman, then a counfeller to a man; but, for that both men and

[¹ sig. G 3]

women are troubled with the like diseases, let them ¹vse my plaster that like best of my knowledge. Where loue strikes the bargaine, their liking cannot start backe; but vnles he be bound by his agreement, affection is a fickle fellowe. What surer couenant then settled loue? But they which respect not their worde, will hardly regarde an oathe. *Honestie* is all, for hee is the father of constancie; and a fig for that loue which must be tied by the lawe! If we foster a

snake, she will sting vs by the bosome; and hee that sues for an enemie, is worthy to haue his pate broken with want of honestie. A tedious suite makes ritch lawyers and leefing clients; and a desire to haue all, makes vs often to loofe all.

I haue heard of a Gentleman that tied himselfe to a poore maide after the manner aforefaide, meaning to marrie with her after the death of his father, for that hee durst not doe it while hee liued. Hee maintained her passing brauely, running himselfe greatly into debt, through the large expences she lasht out. Which curious and ritch setting forth, made many to looke after her, which otherwise would not haue thought on her. A blazing starre prefages alteration, as the Astronomers holde it; and doubtles, a proper woman gayly apparelled, breeds miracles in mens mindes. A prancing horse moues wondring, when a sure nagge onely pleaseth the rider; so while shee liued according to her birth, few or none regarded hir; but now set forth as readie for sale, her gallantnes engendred thoughts of some great portion to be fallen by an vnlooked for accident. Nor will friends let to speake, to make a friend speede well, and hire of the same minde gaue forth that it was so indeede; vpon which reporte many wooers were drawne to trie their fortunes, and amongst them a ritch farmers sonne set in his foote to hazard his happe. Whome her parents and friends so well liked, being his fathers onely childe, as they began to perswade their daughter to take it while it were offered, after this maner: 'Tut, wench (quoth they), while the grasse growes the steed starues; and, as soone goes the young steare as the 'olde oxen to the market. Young heads are fickle; and suppose he should play false, how should we remedie it? Golde bies lawe now a dayes; and may not a bribe eate vp a sure title, as wee haue heard a fat hog did a poore mans glasse of oyle? He that can giue moste, shall be sure to speed best; and you knowe, daughter, your father is not able to wage lawe against so ritch an enemie. Why, woman, you haue not seene him this fortnight; and how knowe we but he hath a wife in a corner? By our Lady, girle, such windefalles happen not often, as is this day put into your mouth. By cock and pie, doo as you will, but if you doo refuse this proffer, we will denie you our blessing.' Which counsell stroke so deepe into her conscience, as it sent packing all the affection her protested loyaltie had promised, and

[* sig. G 3,
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turned it so to the farmers sonne, as in short time hee married with her.

By that time, as my minion had been married three or foure dayes, thither comes posting my out-joynted Gentleman: of whose starke staring mad discontentment, vpon the hearing of his willow guift, *Honestie* lifts not to stand, since you can imagine it was great: but what remedie? What wife man would sue for a false-hearted begger? or what gaine should be got by the recouerie of a broken pipkin? In seeking to haue plagued her, he should haue punished himselfe, adding but shame to the losse of a greater expence, and in the ende, recouered a flap with a foxe tale. Well, I pittie him, because of his kindnes which was so crossed; but if *Honestie* heares of any such kinde asses hereafter, he will make as good sporte thereat as the boyes doo at the foole of a Morrice. Are they not worthie to lie by the heeles, that purchase the countertenor with so plaine a pricksong? I warrant you it prickt and pincht him too; but his father was the more willing to release him, for that he hopte that losse had gaind him more wit. *Honestie* could tell you of a thousand that haue been serued after the same order, they hauing promised to staye one for another; some a yeare, others more or lesse, whereof some haue had their ¹ hope found within a fortnight of their day, and then, thinking themselues neereft to haue their willes, in come takers, putting their noses quite besides the sweete sent of their forespoken bedfellowes. This can be no small grieue to a kinde, constant heart, that hath, peradventure, refused many good likely hoods to stay for such a light hufwife. He that will thinke himselfe sure to a woman, or shee that will build on a mans constancie, till the parish priest hath saide *God giue yee ioye*, and the brides bed hath borne it first nights waight, he is not of *Honesties* minde, though I wish it were otherwise.

[¹ leaf G 4]

It is as good to bee assured of the horne, as to bee made sure to an vnconstant heart, for they that looke for les shall be disappointed. God forbid *Honestie* should say it were vnpossible, that two may loue constantly vnmarried seuen yeres; but he may aboute that two say, such are scarce found in seauen ages. Walke but to Westminster,—a place, in faith, where constancie is as little vsed as wit in Bedlam,—and yet there (I warrant you) you shall haue your head filled with tales

of vnconstant louers. Goe, likewise, to Poules (a path as well haunted with hunters of honestie as *Kemps* head is sometimes pestered with knauerie), and blame *Honestie* if there you heare not outcries of wauering wenches. Long lanes and broade streetes, little cottages and manner places, are at this day, by report, bolstred with naught so much as with vnconstant mindes. Whereby, what through the sorrowe Constancies complainte moues, and the grieve honesties broken pate procures, it is great pittie wee should not haue many knackes to knowe knaues by, and as many liggess to gird garish girles with. I[n] peticoate lane is a pocket ful of new fashions, the drift whereof is, that first commers should be first serued; but they meane no commers which enter not the placket. In Shooelane there is one that selles running lether, the vertue whereof is maintained with liquor of a careles heart; so that hee or shee that cannot play light of loue, shall not be customed there. Withdraw your selues ¹to Crooked [1 leaf G 4, back] lane, and, of *Honesties* credite, you shall finde more traps to catch Rats and Mice there, then constant louers in *Shordich* Church at midnight.

What shall I say, since the art of Cony-catching hath forestalled good inuention? but fie on the diuell that driues such wits to so bad a bargaine, as to be forst to spend their time in no better studies. They haue need of good intelligencers that shall intermeddle with trickes of Coning-shifts; for mine own part, I had rather wade to the middle in Loues whirle-poele, then to the anckles in the brooke of vnconstancie. And yet, force perforce, by Loues appoyntment, I must haue a sling at her followers. Let them flye to the gallowes, for *Honestie*, that loues her so well; and my sling will driue them to a worfe place, vnlesse they leaue her. Vp hill and downe hill is a very troublesome labour; but vp the ladder and downe the rope ends many ones miserie. What steeper way then to the height of affection? and how many often post vp and down betweene that and the valley Likings-recantation. 'I recant' now a daies followes Loues heeles like his shadowe; it is a halting crack-halter, and a hurtfull hinderloue, and best he shall be knowne by his stumpe foote. I meane not a mishapen ledge, but a resting loue, that either makes such a full poynt in the beginning, as he can goe no further, or els stands at a stay two or three quarters, not knowing

whether it were best to goe forwards or backwards. Extreames are as daungerous as stretches: for, as many ioynts are out-set or crackt by the one, so many incurable hurts are receiued by the other. *Honestie* thinkes a feuen nights space is too short a time to fasten a true louers knot; but he that out stayes *the* moneth, may learne as much in that time as is needfull to be knowne. A longer time is pleasing to them that haue barres to hinder their forwardnes, but he that may goe on without hinderances, if hee aimes at a longer respite, take it on *Honesties* word, hee workes but vpon aduantage. They that build their affection vpon reason, are like to remaine most constant; for

[¹ sig. H] where a condition of profite binds the futors, there a long day will not likely be broken. But this reason craues wisdom, the experience whereof must awaite on Loues followers, the practise being nothing but this, a care in our choyce to maintaine the maine chaunce. That is, that they which haue little, doe fancie none but such as haue somewhat, and they that haue nothing, either to match with such as haue enough to serue themselues and others, or els to fill in the chimney corner. Al must measure their liking according to the depth of their desire, to the end they may liue with contentment, which will (I warrant you) nourish constancie.

Now followeth another sort, which are not the least enemies Loue hath, being our common courting lads, who take such pleasure in their pregnant wits, and so great glorie in their readie tongues, as a wench cannot peepe forth the doores, but they must haue a fling at her beautie. First comes, 'faire ladie, God saue you'; and then followes, that the sight of such a blazing Commet makes them stand at the gaze, for that such sights are seldome seene. After, ensues their application, falling from the celestiall creatures to their earthly Goddesses, extolling their beauties to such a height, as, when they can goe no further, hauing forgotten their way backwards, they fall downe headlong, breaking the necke of Good reason. Then come they to the good parts of their bodies, and from thence to a supernaturall view of their hidden vertues, building vpon the prouerbe, *A faire face cannot haue a crabbed heart*, though many of them find by experience, but crabbed entertainment to proccede from those their celestiall objects; yet the most, what through their quicke conceipts, false protestations and vsuall resorting into their companies, bring

many into such a fooles paradise, as they harpe on nothing but mariage. And maruell not, seeing we haue many so forward wenches, that if a man looke but earnestly vpon them, they thinke verely hee is inamoured of their beantie; but shal he speake, and say he loues them, "my father, my mother,¹ and all my friends must be made priuie to his proceedings, for I know he will haue me." [¹ sig. H, back]

Alas! light hearts that are lead away with euery kinde blaft; know ye not that our age flowes with fine wits, that must borrow their practife of such like patients? Doe not many men cheapen, that meane not to buy? & think you to want such customers? How many come into a Faire with neuer a farthing in their purses, and yet for fashion sake will aske the price of a costly peece of worke! Our tongues stand vs in little charges for reparations; and seeing they weare not, we will not spare to wagge them. But this is best knowne to you women, whom nature bindes to the greatest practice, hauing giuen you no other weapon; yet, I may tell you, men cannot want that instrument, especially in their wooing matters. But did many of both kindes vse it lesse, both you and they should speede neuer the worfe, for you should misse of many fond faithles speeches, and they should march without as many kinde hit-home floutes. They should not, playing with the fire, be burnt with the flame, and remaine helples through your careles pitie; nor should you be intrapt in the snares of their smoothe words, decreasing your glorious beauty by hopeles conceites of obtaining your wished happines.

Many honest mindes taken at their words, are bound to bad bargaines, when, on the contrarie part, a crackt credit regards neither his own reputation or anothers welfare. How easie is a free horse tired, a good edge-toole spoyled, and a kinde heart surfeited? A dull iade will rather be spurde to death then breake his pace; and with a bad knife we may assay to cut any thing, without dooing it much harme; but woe bee vnto that heart, whose mildenes makes it selfe subiect to a counterfeit kindnes. You shall fighe forth your sorrow, while they smile at their good succeffe; they, building their assurance of being no losers on your good dispositions, that serue for stables to rest their hopes in; your good natures must bee but rouses for hacknies that neuer knowe their masters, and your kinde² hearts to [² sig. H 2] serue for mangers to feede their bad conceites. Their trotting shal

faſten to your heads heapes of proclamations, the claufes whereof ſhall breede thouſand of doubted miſeries, and ten thouſands of carefull heartbreakings. Their counterfeit frendſhip ſhall hinder faithfull and louing proceedings, hurting affection by hindring it from it defarte, with keeping it from receiuing the due of requittall. That bootles conſtancie ſhall baniſh faithfull loyaltie by crabbed croſſes, and purchaſe to it ſelf, through a haples concluſion, a cart-loade of carefull extremities. True-meaning thereby ſhall be deceaued on both ſides, and kind-heartednes plagued with ouer-ſurefet affection. Loue ſhal be banded away with the racket of diſſimulation, and beaten at laſt into the hazard Deſpaire by his ſporting enemie. What a great loſſe will followe ſuch a chaſe, and how great expence of hearts grieve muſt enſue ſo ſhroude a game, geſſe you, that lie condemned in the like charges. Onely *Honeſtie* pitties ſuch a paſtime that ends with ſo final pleaſure, and wil now come to giue you warning of what he hath ſcene happen in the like cafes of little conſcience.

There was one of this ſocietie that had ſo courted vp a wench, as through a potion of pleaſure he had giuen her, her belly roſe like a blowne bladder. Belly round ſhe was, ſo that, through his craft, her credit ſtoode vpon cracking; which ſhe perceauing, entreated her phiſition, that as hee had taſted of her curteſie, ſo he would ſaue her honeſtie, declaring that ſhe was with childe, as the truth was. 'Of my faith (quoth he), what care I? You might haue tooke better heede; you are beſt to make haſte and get a father for it.' 'I hope (answered ſhe) you will not ſerue me ſo; are theſe your faire promiſes? and can your vowes bee ſo ſlightly paſſed ouer? Haue you not made loue to me by the ſpace of a quarter, being vſed kindly of mee, and can you finde in your heart thus cruelly to requite my extraordinarie fauour, putting me to ſhiftes in this extremitie? Is it poſſible your profeſſed whot loue ſhould be ſo ſoone cold, or that ¹ your large promiſes ſhould turne to ſo little performance? I cannot thinke you, being a man, can be ſo cruell as to caſt away a poore maiden.' 'Away, beaſt (quoth he), thy perſwaſions are as bootles as thy thoughts; and I am affured thou art not ſo fooliſh as to build of any thing I haue ſaide, or of that I haue done, but as of a ieſt; if thou

[¹ ſig. H 2,
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doost, it will be a bad foundation ; ' and with that, he flong forth of the dores, leauing my maimed-maide in a bad taking.

Doe you tearme such dooing iesting ? thought *Honestie* ; if *Chaucers* iapes were such iestes, it was but bad sporte ; well, a sporte it was, though it proued a fure earnest ; and who knowes not that sweete meates craue sowre sauce ? Her laughing lye-downe came to sad rising-vp, a shrewde sporte to turne to such forrie pastime ; and if such an earnest penny cannot binde a bargaine, nought wil holde the like chapmen but a halter. Now, Tiborne and Wapping waite on such for Porters, as post to markets, so to iest with lac'ft-mutton. If saying had been all, thee had beene foolish indeede to haue regarded a fooles speeches ; but, seeing he crept so farre into credit with her, as he crackt her placket lace, how could he of conscience call that iesting ? Doth *Honestie* talke of conscience to *Buls* bailiffes, that haue no care of any thing but to saue their cassokes from being his purchase ? Now, fie of all the Beadles of Bridewell, if they spare such a sporter comming vnder their correction, without double the dole they punish one of *Baals* common Priests with. I would their blewe coates might fall to be *Hindes* fees, vnlesse they giue such foure lustie lashes at euery kennell and streets corner they passe by. Why, vnder the cloake of honest satisfactiön, to allure an honest minde to lewde corruption, is no lesse thefte then robbing of Churches ; onely the Clarkes consent seemes in the one to craue some tolleratiön ouer it doth in the other. Then you will say they deserue both to be hanged, and so would *Honestie* say, but that their christianity merites charitie. But, of my troth, if *Honestie* were a Iustice, such as sue after the selfe-same order, should either marrie with them they ¹ haue deceiued, or [¹ sig. H 3] hang without them, my minion going vnpunished, for that time in hope of amendment. Loue is a kinde hart, and mariage is a sweete baite ; what, then, will not such promises gaine of a faithfull louer ? This iesting turnes to lingring loue, when the weakest hath surfeited in affection. Sweet speeches haue vowed euerlasting constancie ; and running in the pleasant meddowe of kindenes, it growes lustie, spending the remnant of his wooing to winne vnto such bad fare ; courting endes with such a charge, changing professed loue into burning lust. Loue lookes to be maintained with kindenes, and when he hath got

what wordes can affoorde, then falles he to iesting, which turns contrary to *Chaucers* meaning, to *the* satisfiing of a leachers lust in earnest. But too too much of this, except it were better; and once more returne we to our melancholly leste marde maide.

She, poore soule, set so lightly by in her fortie weekes reckoning, so thought on her present hard hap, as she quite forgot her accompt, wherby now she was in a worse taking then before; for if, being put to her othe, she should misse of that, his counter othe would make but a so so end for her; and, therefore, thus she bestirred her selfe in the matter. She made her case knowne to a freend, and, falling downe vpon her knees, entreated him, for the passion of our Lady, to stand good helpe vnto her, to draw her mate to marry with her. Who, being a very honest man *that* had some care of her credit, laboured so effectually in *the* matter, as, what through promises and a peece of money, he made it a match; so that, what through a little honestie my man was endued with, and a peece of money my maiden was endowed with, we had a choptlodgicke. Now, woe vnto such wooed spouses, if their mates want altogether honestie, and they haue no money; and this might haue, perchance, wonne the standing in a white sheete without so good a maister. Take heede, girles, how you trust to such helpes, for *Honestie* can tell you they are not ordinarie. It is harder to finde one such in euery parische through a Countrie, ¹ then to finde a honest woman in a house of Westminster Hospitalitie. Alas! how many honest mens children come to decay through this practise? Talke with any corrupted Virgine; and, excepting one amongst twentie, if they all not agree that such enticements were the procurers of their miserie, neuer beleue *Honestie* for a halfe pennie. Beware if a rich mariage be offered for a rewarde of breache of honestie; there are fewe that will not consent to leacherie with such briberie.

[1 sig. H 3,
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But the opening of an other wound remaines, with which loue is hurt by his courting enemies, for they which haue beene once deceiued by flatterie, will hardly be drawn to beleue sinceritie, whereby the faithfull sutor is hindred from his due. The beaten dogge shuns the stick; the tormented patient feares the Potheccaries drugs; the childe that hath beene fore whipt for a fault, will feare, by offending, to hazard his breeche. Who is more warie of his wel

fare, then he that hath been in greateſt extremitie? and if loue hath been wounded with a diſſembled affection, he will be afraid to enter into an action from whence the like ſorrowe may flowe. What giues greater hope of conſtancie, then vowed loyalty? or what ſeemes ſweeter then ſugered flatterie? Affection ſpringeth of kinde vſage, and loue ſettles on a continued ſhewe of professed zeale, which, being ſure ſet, cannot be remoued without great danger, except wiſedome be a helper. What ſorrowe danger brings, and what care diſcontentment harboureth, he knowes not. But of the vnceaſing harts-greefe, with the tormenting ſoure-fauce which ſeaſoneth the deſtruction of entire affection, none can iudge, ſaue thoſe that haue taſted thereof; onely it may be imagined by *the* effects that haue followed the like cauſes (as by the vntimely death it hath brought to ſome, a deprivation of their wits to others, languishing diſeaſes to many; namely, the greene ſicknes, the mother, and ſuch like; and laſtly, to all mad melancholye fits), that they which are fauoured with the leaſt miſhap that comes through want of their longing, are rewarded ¹ with [* leaf H 4] the loſſe of a preſent wel-fare, hauing that ſupplied by a giſte of fighting heauines. Now, after *the* freedome from ſuch a miſcheefe, who will not ſweare to flie from the like danger? And ſince flatterie cannot, without dangerous triall, be knowne from faithfull freendſhip, who will not ſhunne both, fearing to miſtake the one for the other? If a kinde hart hath bene deceiued by a crooked knaue, clad in the robes of a courteous louer, ſhe will euer after miſtruſt the habite, for that it is vnpoſſible to know the hart. Who can forbid the Tailor to vſe his arte? and doo you thinke that any one for an aduantage will let to trie his craſte? The Diuell can change himſelfe into any ſhape; and the onely meanes to knowe him (as is ſaide before), is his ſtump ſoote.

Liking wil not be long a dooing; and loue that followes is but little, whereby he brings no great harme; but al the miſcheefe comes with deſire, which ſwelles the affections, and predominates ouer loue and liking; he makes the miſ-rule, and keeps the open Chriſtmas; he deſires the ſporte, and maintaines the paſtime, ſo that, though he be long in comming, and ſtaies but little in his Lordſhip, yet the remembrance of his iolitie is not forgotten a long time after. He keeps his cuſtome euery yeere; and a yeere with him is but a ſhort

space; so that after he comes to his full age, he makes many Christ-masses; for Desire is not short liued. It is therefore this lingring loue that dooth all the harme, because by him Desire is onely begotten. He that, beating the market, is willing to buye, will not stand long a bargaining when he hath met with his liking, for feare a francker customer steppe betweene him and his longing; but if he be careles, he will not deale without a good penniworth. Very easily, then, is the mischeefe of repentance taken from women, seeing a true-meaning sutor may be as quickly discerned, as a careles chapman may be perceiued. And how fondly doo they entrude themselues into the needles hazard of great discontent, that will let their loue runne so farre without reason, as it ¹ cannot be called backe without great greefe at the least. Though a buyer be not able to giue the seller his asking, yet will he be earnest to haue it at such a price as he doth offer; and, although this louing customer be not of abilitie to answere thy freends expectation, yet shall he not be forward to be possessed of thee; he is but a watcher for aduantages. So that if either his abilitie be such, as of himselfe he can maintaine thee, or be thy possibilitie so great, as by his good endeouour he may winne a liuing, thy freends good will, by the possession of thee, thy affection is too too colde, if thou keepest him lingring without his longing; and his deuotion is small, if he be not an vnceasing sutor for it.

[¹ leaf H 4,
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And truly, in *Honesties* minde (and pardon me, I pray you, with whose conceits it iumpes not), those matches shall prosper best, where loue is rather respected then wealth; provided there be a care had of the likelyhoode of possibilitie which must come with one of them. But shall one that hath nothing, ioyne louing issue with an other that hath, or is like to haue as little, he hauing no meanes to make a liuing, he shewes himself to be a foolish follower of repentance, and an vncharitable procurer of an others wretchednes? There are many good wits, that, wanting matter to worke on, wade into the triall of dangerous conclusions, which otherwise being employed, would become profitable members of a common wealth. All cannot be heires, and many yonger brothers children are but barely left, though they haue had good bringing vp, which nothing hinders their gentrie, onely, now a daies, it is a barre to their preferment. For men will sooner match their daughters with my yong maister, a rich Coblers

Sonne, though they be their heires, then with a Gentleman of a good house, being a yonger Brother. Heerby comes the decay of ancient gentilitie, and this *the* making of vpstart houses; heerby, those that haue had good bringing vp, must either goe to plough and carte, being drudges to such drones, or their natures, disdaining that, and more abhorring to begge, leade them to lewde practises to maintaine ¹ the [¹ sig. 1] state of their birth. And did you, Fathers, which are to match your Children, know the hart-breakings many parents (which haue beene of your mindes) haue found by triall, then would the feare of vnciuill behauour, which springeth by succeffion from their carterly progenitors, turne your greedie desire of golden gaine, to a ioyfull gaining of your posterities happines.

But fie of couetousnes, that is the roote of all mischiefe; for men that haue enough to make their Daughters Gentlewomen, by matching them with houses of no small antiquitie, will, with the desire they haue therevnto, wooe men of great liuing with large offers, to match their sons and heires with them; Who, being drawn therunto, will vse them their wiues meetely well during the life time of their owne and wiues Fathers, for that their estates are by their great portions better maintained, and their best freends thereby well pleased. But let your Daughters beware, after your and their Fathers death (when all hope is taken away of a further gaine, and a search made of their auncestors alliance), for then, seeing the basenes of your pettigree, and *the* noble descents of their predeceffors, that corruption of blood which you, with your corruption of money, hath made, and their Fathers couetousnes hath purchased to their succeffion, will (as for the most parte it doth in the like cases) moue such hartbreakings, as either quarrelles of diuorcement or futes of separation will surely followe. When, on the contrary parte, if respecting gentrie, thereby to aduance your houses, you would match them with Gent. yonger brothers (of whom there ought to be lesse regarde, the chiefe house being maintained), your Daughters portions being the onely maintenance of their estates, would be so strong a helpe to encrease their affection towards your children, with purchased happines to their posterities, as knowing no housholde quarrelles can be without charges, they will be glad to studie to encrease the sweetenes of vnitie, thereby to continue euerlasting prosperitie to their following ages.

[¹ sig. I,
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¹ *Honestie* knowes what the fairing-monger will saye, when he shall heare of one so flat against his opinion touching mariages, not letting to affirme that it is most necessarie that the consent of parents should be last sued for, and little regarded in respect of loue, especiallye seeing his Pamphlet buildes so diuinely on farre-fetcht arguments to proue the contrarie. Therefore, to preuent him, and to prouide against the great danger their matches-making procure, *Honestie* must tell him, and assure all those that are of his minde, that were the worlde like vnto that wherein *Abraham* liued, or were Fathers of these daies of his disposition, his argument drawn from the gift of *Euah* to *Adam*, by God, and such like, might seeme to proue some thing. But, seeing these times in effect are quite contrary to those, and the dispositions of men in our daies altogether disagreeing to theirs of that age, his time had bene better spent in a worke to some other purpose. For a little to seeme to flie from my matter, and to haue a sling at him: how many Fathers now a daies are there so carefull of prouiding conuenient mates for their children at a seasonable time as our great Grandfather *Abraham* was? Againe, how manye haue children that are so obedient to bend their loue to their Parents liking as was *Isaac*? Oh, Sir, you are deceaued, our yong ones are of riper wits, and far forwarder then Children were in those daies, and our olde ones are of more couetous mindes, and far forwarder to be drawn to their childrens good; for what greater good then to enioy them they loue? and what will offend our parents more then to entreat that he sent his seruant to search forth one of his next kinne, not to enquire after one that had most wealth; and should some children entertaine no loue in our time vntill their parents procured it, nor sue for a match before their freends made it, it were requisite their honestie should be great, or I knowe what will follow. Yet, againe, Fathers liue not now adaies ordinarily aboue a hundred yeeres, whereby they

[² sig. I 2] haue a long la²sting gouernement ouer their Children; but beholde it is far contrary, and therefore it requires contrary proceedings. And lastly (for that I will not be long at this time in this matter), the holy writ beares not such sway in our consciences, as it workt wonders in theirs of those daies; and therefore, to helpe our weaknes in the want of that warrant, we must vse the meanes—loue—to drawe vs to that euerlasting happines.

But once more to my courting companions, to make as speedie an end with them, whose haire-braine fancying and fickle affection is no small hindrance to loues proceedings. *Honestie*, hauing set downe the meanes to finde out their knauerie, hath also provided a batte to beate downe such flatterie, the instruement to finde out their dissimulation being a search into their lingring, and the clubbe to match their clubbe feete, a loathing of their company. But to come to the punishment I would haue such to be plagued with: in my opinion, and by *Honesties* doome, they are worthie to be set for scarre-crowes in newe sowne fieldes; and the rather thus goes my iudgement, for that seeing they are so skilfull to doo harme in townes and cities, if that bad-used wit were forst to be employed about that commodious doo-good, they would inuent excellent meanes to preuent the spoyle the rauenous birds commit. Their pregnant wits and cunning deuices to catch womens affections, that farre exceede crowes in reason and discretion, confirme they would be strange, and therefore profitable; yet, because it is somewhat too bace, though their practises are as beafully, I will ende with them with this resolution:—That they are as worthie to stand in white-sheetes in Churches, for leauing women in desperate cafes, hauing drawn them into that fooles paradise of ouer-passionate affection, as they that poyson strangers bellies; This would make faithfull futors happie, constant louers ioyfull, and courting dissemblers feareful.

Honestie, hauing noted these enormities harbored in lewde dispositions shuffled into this Morrice, at last lent ¹ his eares, and bestowed his eyes, ioyning with him his best vnderstanding, to search into the natures of *the* remnant, to see whether *the* multitud were mixed with these in bad conceits. But, behold, so contrarie practizes were performed by them, as those proceedings are disagreeing to the furtherance of perfect vnitie. Amongst these did I beholde *Loue* dandled with sweete musick, and constant affection vpholden with modest demeanour. The soueraignes of Virginitie displayed their heauenly dignitie, by the imperiall colours of matchles beautie, grounde with the *Ambrosian* oyle of celestially courtesie; and the matronly deities proued their ethereall discreetnes, in following the heauens prescription for Loues true imitation. I saw Kindenes matched with Goodwill, Affection linked vnto Liking, & Loue embraced with

[¹ sig. I 2,
back]

Loyaltie, Vertue leading *them* to eternall happines. They liked not for a moment, loued not vpon aduantage, nor wooed but with a good intention. These shaked not hands with hatefull hearts, nor vsed smoothe tongues with dissembling thoughts. They courted not kindly, to corrupt shamefully, ne protested with vowes, to wound with wordes, and kill with deeds; but hand and heart went together, and the tongue vttered their passionate conceites; their heart louing them as faithfully as their tongue labored to winne their courtesie. And you no earthly creatures, though ioyned with men for their eternall good (you heauenly faints, I meane, making in the shadowes of terrestriall shapes), you beautifie this crue with your deuine motions, whose mindes are onely inriched with the true wisdom that vpholdes Loues welfare. Your sacred actions ayde his simple followers, & naught but your carefull kindnes binds mens weake affections from vnconstancie. You make their praiers effectuell, their request gayning through you the safetie of their longing. Your pittie brings them to pietie, and your almes relieues them from the captiuitie of Despaire. Destressed *Honestie* is soly harbored within your milke-white bosomes, and were it not for your bountifull charitie, his end

[1 sig. I 3] ¹ would be tormenting beggerie. Your allablasther pappes do wholly minister moisture to my consuming welfare, and from their sugered teates doe I onely drawe my liquor of life, so that by your motherly kindnes to decaying *Honestie*, they reape likewise their blisse, that would giue mee my baine; recouering contrarie to their wils the remaynder of their weale. For how marcheth the passionate souldier, without you sound the alarome of his good-speede? or, how fareth the amorous gallant, except you play the galliard of acceptance? Vnfortunate eyes, your pearcing fightes shal be cruelly curst, and vnnaturall vsage shall be offered to your obedient hearts; for seeing and adoring celestiall obiects, vnles their relenting pittie take mercie on your destressed abiects. And blaspheming tongue, thy vnbridled impudencie shall heape vpon thy owne back a bundle of vntollerable miseries, by being forced to vtter execrable slaunders against them for their hard hearts, that were purchased to worke your hard happe through your owne iniurious follie. Passions of discontent must please your fancies, and sorrowfull poems must grace your musick; deep sighes must straine your heart-strings, and direfull sorrowe lu

you a sleepe, when visions of new destresses must disquiet your greatest happines, and dreames of fresh vexations forbid you the least ease. You shall sue in vaine, because you haue delighted in vanitie; and hope without obtaining, for that your heart haue harbored dissembling, except these goddesses, whose goodnes is vnspeakable, vouchsafe to minister a plaster of pittie to your louing pietie. It is their courtesie that must make you chereful, and their good conceits must cherish your dying mirth; their liking must honour your affection, and their gratefull kindnes must aduance the zeale of your protested loyaltie. It is in their choyse to change your chance, and in their power to bridle Fortune; for that the Fates, being their sisters, are at their calles to set downe your destinies. If they say they doe hate you, beware, for they can hurt you; but if they affirme they loue you, strue to con'tinue your present happines, and feare to lose the prof-
 [1 sig. I 3,
back]

ferred blessednes. Why are women accounted weake, but because their nature is pure? Or, wherefore are they necessarie, but that men cannot liue without their companie? When we are succorles, they comfort vs; being melancholy, they cheere vs; and they are the meanes to redeeme vs from the gates of hell. Being mad, their muscall tongues chase away the euill spirits; being bewitched, their loue charmes the tormenting diuels; and being swallowed vp by the gulfe licentioufnes, the heauens haue created *them* the helpe to redeeme vs from that hellish furnace

Thus much for their power; & now, a little of their properties. O, sacred mercie (neuer more honored then in the pittifull bosomes of these feminine deities), thou holds thy chief harborow within their passionate bosomes, & only art nourished in their relenting harts. Thou singst within the closets of their pittifull consciences, & reioycest within the castles of their celestiall soules; thou liuest with them secure, and makes through them multitudes of miserable wretches possessors of the highest happines. Thou heares the signes of suing sweet-hearts, & comforts the pinching grieve of pining louers. Thou meditates of their vowes, and studies to requite their carefull affection with kindest curtesie. Thou pittiest the foolish maladies of fond nouices, & sorrowest at the weaknes of many mens wisdomes. Thou struest to do no wrong, that thou maist be free from iniurie; and labours to shunne suspect, that thou maist bee without misdoubt.

Thou studiest to repay, that thou maist reape thy due; and keepest thy day, that thou maist bee well dealt with. Yea, much more, and so much the better for man; thou pitties them that would spoile thee, and forgives them that would hurt thee; thou wishest them well that would bereaue thee of thy weale, & louest them (which is thy only fault), ouer entirely that esteeme of thy proffered kindnes too too carelesly. Yet let discretion haue the second place with you, for she guides them by reason, and that gouerns men with wisdom.

[leaf 14] She knowes when to charme with ¹ sweete melodie, and when to correct with louing perswasions; she vseth to dandle vertue, and reprove vice, to embrace good and flie from euill, and willingly to subiect obedient imitation to holsome counsell, as also dutifully to desire libertie from stooping to iniurious doctrine. Shee searcheth into the depth of subiected seruise, and discouering whether it be offered of curtesie, or proffered of knauerie, regards it according to it value, and rewardes it with it full worth. She teacheth to like ere they loue, and louing to encrease, or deminish the heate of their fancie, according to the proportion of kinde coales that nourisheth the fire of their affection. She perswadeth to launce, courting to the bones to finde out the danger; and seeing what likelyhoode, either of weale or woe is likest to ensue; shee sheweth them what is good to withdrawe the putrified liking, and what is holsome to preferue the sound loue. And she studies to make them happie, by wishing men their welfare to make them constant, by endeuoring to encrease a sparke of loyaltie, and to make them honored by instructing them in the true rules of modestie.

And now step in further, thou beautifying modestie; for thou addest no small renoune to their adored natures, nor doth thy bashfulness meanely adorne their highly prised excellencies; thy rosie blusshes bring no small honor to their admired beauty; nor euer dies that sacred stayning colour, vntil by mans corruption that maidenly marke be extinguished. Yet then (but, ah! that man should do so much!) thy decent sobrietie aduanceth the dignity of their womanly chastitie, and thy matronly behauiour displayeth the soueraintie of their motherly nurture. Thou giues examples that, imitated, preuent occasions of enticing offers to draw to folly, and escapes the iniurious slanders of suspitious searchers, *that* hunt after shewes of sensuality. Thou main-

tainest peace at home, escapest suspect abroade, and keepest thy louers heart from harboring ielousie, the chiefe procurer of greatest miserie. And thou gaineest liking, and encreasest affection, receiuing loue and loyaltie with an assu'ed pledge of neuer-dying constancie. Neither art thou, euerlasting goddess, a stranger to mens-helpers; for thou, with all the vertues, waite vpon these beautiful spectacles, and they, with the Graces, extol those the earths miracles. Their praises are vnspokeable, for that their worth is vnualuable and their desertes vnrequited, because through mans weakenes misprised; but such and so great were the adorned excellencies of these humane deities, as their practises layde open their princely courtesie, and their performances made their louers happie. And men reioyced through their faithfull affection; studying to requite womens euerlasting kindnes with the reward of neuer-ceasing constancie. Men vsed heavenly wisdom to obtaine liking, and carefull behauior to confirme loue being purchased; and women were forward to bestowe modest kindnes, being faithfully dealt withall, and effectually requited proffered curtesie; neither being too too coye, or shewing themselues ouer forward to be wonne. But briefly, and so to end: euery one of them rendred like for like with proofes of neuer-altering affection, they thereby gaining vnto themsel[e]s the sugred sweetnes of celestiall amitie, & tying vnto their kinde thoughts, the affections of their well-willers, with euerlasting constancie.

[leaf 14.
back]

F I N I S.

T O M
T E L - T R O T H S
M E S S A G E , A N D
H I S P E N S C O M -
P L A I N T .

*A worke not vnpleasant to be read,
nor vnprofitable to be fol-
lowed.*

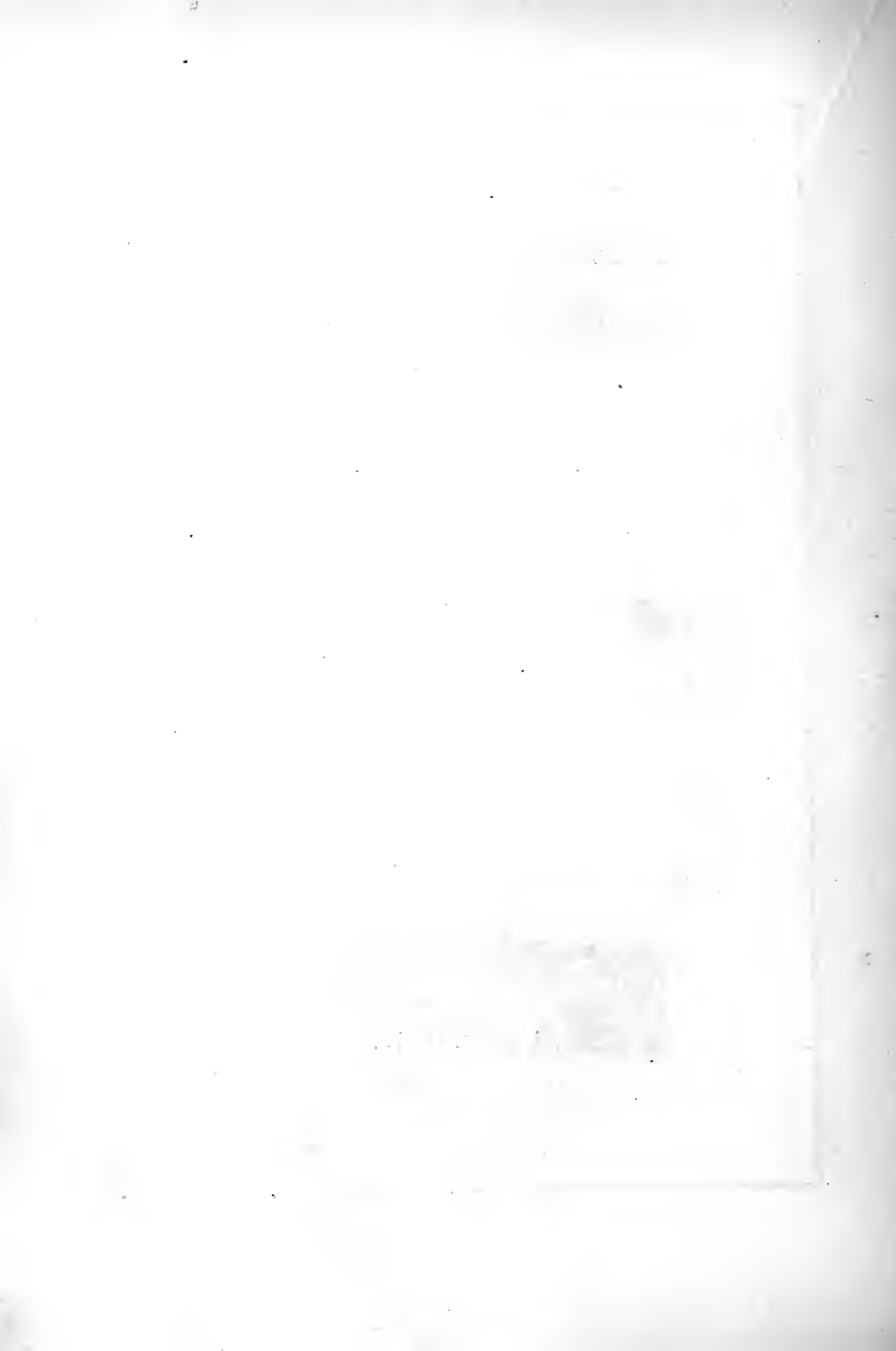
Written by Jo. La. Gent.

Nullam in correcto crimine crimen erit.



L O N D O N .

Imprinted for *R. Howell*, and are to be sold at his shop,
neere the great North doore of Paules, at the signe of
the white horse. 1600.





[p. 5]

TO THE WORSIPFULL

MASTER George Dowse, GENTLE-

MAN, Io. La. WISHETH FRVITI-

on of endlesse felicitie.



F writings may quittance benefits or goodwill, more then common curtesie, then accept, I beseech you, these first fruites of my barren braine, the token of my loue, the seale of my affection, and the true cognizance of my vnfained affection. And for so-much as the plot of my Pamphlet is rude, though true, the matter meane, the manner meaner, let me humbly desire, though slenderly I deserue, to haue it patronized vnder the wings of your fauour; in requitall whereof I will be,

Yours euer to command,

Io. La.





[p. 6]

TO THE GENTLEMEN
READERS.

I Vdiciall Readers, wise Apolloes flocke, 1
Whose eyes like keyes doe open learnings locke;
Daigne with your eye-lampes to behold this booke,
And in all curtesie thereon to looke : 4
Thus being patronized by your view,
I shall not be ashamed of his hew.
O graunt my suite, my suite you vnderstand,
That I may you commend, you me command. 8

Io. La.





TOM TEL-TROTHS

Message, and his pens complaint.

[1]



hou that didst earst Romes Capitall defend, [p. 7] 1
Defend this sacred relique of thy wing,
And by thy power Diuine some succor send,
To saue the same from carping *Momus* sting : 4
That, like a tell-troth, it may boldly blaze,
And pensill-like paint forth a iust dispraise. 6

[2]

Goe, naked pen, the hearts true secretarie, 7
Imbath'd in sable liquor mixt with gall,
And from thy master these rude verses carrie,
Sent to the world, and in the world, to all : 10
In mournfull verse lament the faults of men,
Doe this, and then returne heart-easing pen. 12

[3]

Time sits him downe to weepe in sorrowes fell, [p. 8] 13
And *Truth* bewailes mans present wickednes ;
Both *Time* and *Truth* a dolefull tale doe tell,
Deploring for mans future wretchednes. 16
With teare-bedewed cheeks, help, help therfore,
Sad tragicke muse, to weepe, bewaile, deplore. 18

[]

Mee thinks I see the ghost of *Conscience*, 19
Raisde from the darke graue of securitie,
Viewing the world, who once was banisht thence,
Her cheeks with teares made wet, with sighs made dry : 22
And this did aggrauate her grieve the more,
To see the world much worse than twas before. 24

[5]

She wept; I saw her weepe, and wept to see 25
 The salt teares trickling from her aged eyes;
 Yea, and my pen, copartner needs would be,
 With black-inke teares, our teares to simpathize: 28
 So long wee wept, that all our eyes were drie,
 And then our tongues began aloud to crie. 30

[6]

Come, sad *Melpomene*, thou tragicke Muse, [p. 9] 31
 To beare a part in these our dolefull cries!
 Spare not with taunting verses to accuse
 The wicked world of his iniquities! 34
 Tell him his owne! be bold, and not ashamed,
 Nor cease to speake till thou his faults hast blamed! 36

[7]

I seeme to heare resounding Ecchoes tatling, 37
 Of misdemeanors raigning heere and there,
 And party-coloured Pyes on greene bowes pratling,
 Of foolish fashions raging euerie where: 40
 Then blame not my muse, what so ere she say,
 Sith birds and Ecchoes, mens fond faults bewray. 42

[8]

O world, no world, but rather sinke of sinne, 43
 Where blind and fickle Fortune Empresse raigneth;
 O men, no men, but swine that lie therein,
 Among whom, vertue wrong'd by vice complaineth: 46
 Thus world bad, men worse, men in world, worldly men,
 Doe giue occasion to my plaintife pen. 48

[9]

Sinne, like the monstra *Hydra*, hath more heads, [p. 10] 49
 Then heauens hie rooffe hath siluer-spangled starres,
 And in his Iawes,¹ mens soules to hell he leads, [1 orig. lawes] 52
 Where fierie fiends meete them in flaming Charres:
 This Pirate, like a Pilate, keepes each coast, 54
 Bringing his guests vnto their hellish hoast.

and his pens complaint.

113

[10]

If all the earth were writing paper made, 55
 All plowshares pens, all furrowes lines in writing,
 The Ocean inke, wherein the sea-nymphes wade,
 And all mens consciences were scribes inditing : 58
 Too much could not be written of mans sinne,
 Since sinne did in the first man first begin. 60

[11]

But as the Ægyptian dog runs on the brinke 61
 Of Nilus seuen-fold ouer-flowing floud,
 And staying not, nowhere, nowhere doth drinke,
 For feare of Crocodiles which lurke in mudde : 64
 So shall my pen runne briefly ouer all,
 Reciting these misdeeds which worke mans thral. 66

[12]

Nature, that whilome bore the chiefest sway, [p. 11] 67
 Bridling mans bodie with the raignes of Reason,
 Is now inforc'd in vncoth walkes to stray,
 Exilde by custome, which encrocht through treason : 70
 Instead of Art, Natures companion,
 Fancie with custome holdes dominion. 72

[13]

Ouid could testifie that, in his time, 73
Astraea fled from earth to heauen aboue,
 Loathing iniustice as a damned crime,
 Which she with equall poised schoales did proue : 76
 And this pen in my time shall iustifie,
 That true religion is constrainde to flie. 78

[14]

The two leafe-dores of *quondam* honestie, 79
 Which on foure vertues Cardinall were turned,
 By Cardinals degree and poperie,
 Are now as heretike-like reliques burned : 82
 Now carnall vice, not vertue Cardinall,
 Plaies Christmas gambals in the Popes great hall. 84

[15]

Well, sith the Popes name pops so fitly in,	[p. 12] 85
From Pope ile take the Latin P. away,	
And Pope shall with the Greeke π . then begin,	
Whose type and tippe that he may climbe ile pray :	88
Pray all with mee that he may climbe this letter ;	
For in this praiser each man is his detter.	90

[16]

I passe not although with bell, booke, and candle,	91
His bald-pate Priests and shoren Friers curse ;	
My plaintife pen, his rayling text shall handle :	
Nor doe I thinke my selfe one iot the worse :	94
Yea, though my pen were in their Purgatorie,	
Yet should my pen hold on his plaintife storie.	96

[17]

Oh, what a world is it for one to see,	97
How Monkes and Friers would religious seeme ?	
Whose heads make humble congies to the knee,	
That of their humble minds all men might deeme :	100
These be the sycophants, whose fained zeale	
Hath brought-in woe to euerie commonweale.	102

[18]

The Monkes, like monkies, hauing long blacke tailes,	[p. 13] 103
Tell olde wiues tales to busie simple braines ;	
The baudie Friers do hunt to catch females,	
To shriue and free them from infernall paines.	106
Thus Monkes and Friers, fire-brands of hell,	
Like to incarnate diuels with vs dwell.	108

[19]

But I as loath, so will I leaue to write,	109
Against this popish ribble rabble route,	
Hoping ere long some other will indite	
Whole volumes gainst their slander-bearers stout :	112
Poets and Painters meane while shall descry,	
With pens and pensils, their hypocrisie.	114

and his pens complaint. 115

[20]

As thus my pen doth glance at euerie vice, 115
Needs must I heare poore Learnings lamentation,
Which whilome was esteem'd at highest price,
But now reiected is of euerie nation : 118
She loueth men, yet is shee wrong'd by men ;
Her wronged loue giues matter to my pen. 120

[21]

Pallas, the nurse of Nature-helping Art, [p. 14] 121
Whose babes are Schollers, and whose cradels, schooles,
From whose milch teates no pupils would depart,
Till they by cunning shund the names of fooles : 124
Shè, euen she, wanders in open streetes,
Seeking for schollers, but no schollers meetes. 126

[22]

Englands two eyes, Englands two Nurceries, 127
Englands two nests, Englands two holy mounts,
I meane, Englands two Vniuersities,
Englands two Lamps, Englands two sacred founts, 130
Are so puld at, puld out, and eke puld downe,
That they can scarce maintaine a wide sleeu'd gowne. 132

[23]

Lately as one CAME ore a BRIDGE, he saw 133
An OXE stand ore a FORDE to quench his drouth :
But lo, the Oxe his dry lips did withdraw,
And from the water lifted vp his mouth. 136
Like *Tantalus*, this drie Oxe there did stand :
God grant this darke *Ænigma* may be scand ! 138

[24]

The Liberrall Sciences, in number seauen, [p. 15] 139
Which, in seauen ages, like seauen Monarchs raigned,
And shin'd on earth as Planets seauen in heauen,
Are now like Almesfolkes beggerly maintained, 142
Whilst in their roome, seauen deadly sins beare sway,
Which makes these seauen Arts, like seauen slaues obey. 144

[25]

<i>Grammer</i> , the ground and strong foundation	145
Vpon which Lady Learning builds her tower ;	
<i>Grammer</i> , the path-way and direction	
That leadeth vnto <i>Pallas</i> sacred bower,	148
Stands bonds-laue-like, of Stationers to be sold,	
Whom all in free Schooles erst might free behold.	150

[26]

Add <i>Rhetoricke</i> , adornde with figures fine,	151
Trickt vp with tropes, and clad in comely speech,	
Is gone a Pilgrime to the Muses nine,	
For her late wrong assistance to beseech.	154
Now rich Curmudgions, best orations make,	
Whilst in their pouches gingling coyne they shake.	156

[27]

<i>Logicke</i> , which like a whetstone sharpes the braine,	[p. 16] 157
<i>Logicke</i> , which like a touch-stone tries the minde,	
<i>Logicke</i> , which like a load-stone erst drew gaine,	
Is now for want of maintenance halfe pinde ;	160
And sith in Colledges no maides may dwell,	
Many from Colledges doe her expell.	162

[28]

<i>Musicke</i> , I much bemourne thy miserie,	163
Whose well-tunde notes delight the Gods aboue,	
Who, with thine eare-bewitching melodie,	
Doest vnto men and beasts such pleasure moue :	166
Though wayling cannot helpe, I wayle thy wrong,	
Bearing a part with thee in thy sad song.	168

[29]

<i>Arithmeticke</i> , she next in number stands,	169
Numbring her cares in teaching how to number ;	
Which cares, in number passing salt-sea sands,	
Disturbe her minde, and still her corps incumber :	172
Care addeth grieffe, grieffe multiplies her woe,	
Whose ebbe subtracting, brings reducing floe.	174

and his pens complaint. 117

[30]

Geometrie, as seruile prentise bound (p. 17) 175
Vnto the Mother earth for many yeares,
Hath long since meated out the massie ground,
Which ground the impression of her foot-steps beares. 178
Great was her labour, great should be her gaine
But her great labour was repaid with paine. 180

[31]

Astronomie, not least though last, hath lost 181
By cruell fate her starre-embroidred coate;
Her spherie globe in dangers seas is tost,
And in mishap her instruments doe floate: 184
All Almanacks hereof can witnesse beare,
Else would my selfe hereof as witnesse sweare. 186

[32]

But how should I with stile poetically 187
Proceede to rime in meeter or in verse?
If Poetrie, the Queene of verses all,
Should not be heard, whose plaint mine care doth pierce? 190
Oh helpe, *Apollo*, with apologie,
To blaze her vnderued iniurie. 192

[33]

Horace did write the Art of Poetrie, (p. 18) 193
The Art of Poetrie *Virgill* commended;
Ouid thereto his studies did applie,
Whose life and death, still Poetrie defended. 196
Thrice happie they, but thrice unhappie I,
They sang her praise, but I her iniurie. 198

[34]

O princely Poetrie, true Prophetesse, 199
Perfections patterne, Matrone of the Muses,
I weepe to thinke how rude men doe oppresse
And wrong thine Art with their absurd abuses. 202
They are but drosse, thine Art it is diuine,
Cast not therefore thy pearles to such swine. 204

[35]

The sugred songs that sweete Swannes vse to sing,	205
Floting adowne <i>Meanders</i> siluer shore,	
To countrie swaines no kinde of solace bring ;	
The winding of an horne they fancie more.	208
No marueile then though Ladie Poetrie	
Doe suffer vnderued iniurie.	210.

[36]

Like to <i>Batillus</i> , euery ballet-maker,	[p. 19] 211
That neuer climbd vnto <i>Pernassus</i> Mount,	
Will so incroach, that he will be partaker	
To drinke with <i>Maro</i> at the <i>Castale</i> fount.	214
Yea, more then this, to weare a lawrell Crowne	
By penning new gigges for a countrie clowne.	216

[37]

When <i>Marsias</i> with his bagpipes did contend	217
To make farre better Musicke then <i>Apollo</i> :	
When <i>Thameras</i> in selfe conceit would mend	
The Muses sweete songs note, what then did follow ?	220
Conuicted both, to both this was assignde :	
The first was hangd, the last was stroken blinde.	222

[38]

And may it happen to those bastard braines,	223
Whose base rimes striue to better Poetrie,	
That they may suffer like deserued paines,	
For these be they that worke her infamie.	226
Thus hauing blazed false Poets in their hew,	
Deare Poetrie (though loth) I bid adiew.	228

[39]

As Poetrie in poesie I leaue,	[p. 20] 229
I see seauen sinnes which crost seauen Liberall Arts,	
Which with their fained shew doe men deceaue,	
And on the wide worlds stage doe play their parts :	232
As thus men follow them, they follow men,	
They moue more matter to my plaintife pen.	234

and his pens complaint.

119

[40]

These mincing maides and fine-trict truls, ride post 235
To *Plutoes* pallace, like purueyers proude;
Thither they leade many a damned ghost,
With howling consorts carroling aloude : 238
And as one after one they post to hell,
My plaintife pen shall their abuses tell. 240

[41]

First praunceth Pride with principalitie, 241
Guarded with troupes of new-found fashions :
Her hand-maides are Fancie and Vanitie :
These three a progresse goe throughout all nations ; 244
And as by any towne they passe along,
People to see them gather in a throng. 246

[42]

Now fine-ruft Ruffines in their brauerie [p 21] 247
Make cringing cuts with new inuention :
New-cut at Cardes brings some to beggarie,
But this new-cut brings most vnto destruction : 250
So long they cut, that in their purse no groate
They leaue, but cut some others purse or throate. 252

[43]

Bedawbd with gold like *Apuleius* Asse, 253
Some princk and pranck it : others, more precise,
Full trick and trim tir'd in the looking-glasse,
With strange apparell doe themselues disguise. 256
But could they see what others in them see,
Follie might flie, and they might wiser bee. 258

[44]

Some gogle with the eyes, some squint-eyd looke, 259
Some at their fellowes, squemish sheepes-eyes cast,
Some turne the whites vp, some looke to the foote,
Some winke, some twinke, some blinke, some stare as fast. 262
The summe is infinite ; eye were a detter,
If all should answere I, with I the letter. 264

[45]

Many desire to foote it with a grace,	[p. 22] 265
Or Lion-like to walke maiestical :	
But whilst they striue to keepe an equipace,	
Their gate is foolish and phantasticall.	268
As Hobby-horses, or as Anticks daunce,	
So doe these fooles vnseemely seeme to prounce.	270

[46]

I will not write of sweatie, long, shag haire,	271
Or curled lockes with frised periwigs :	
The first, the badge that Ruffins vse to weare,	
The last, the cognisance of wanton rigs.	274
But sure I thinke, as in <i>Medusaes</i> head,	
So in their haire, are craulling Adders bred.	276

[47]

Men, <i>Proteus</i> -like, resemble euery shape,	277
And like Camelions euery colour faine ;	
How deare so ere, no fashion may escape	
The hands of those whose gold may it attaine :	280
Like ebbe and flow, these fashions goe and come,	
Whose price amounteth to a massie summe.	282

[48]

The sharp-set iawes of greedie sheeres deuoure,	[p. 23] 283
And seaze on euery cloath as on a pray,	
Like <i>Atropose</i> cutting that in an houre,	
Which weauers <i>Lachese</i> -like wrought in a day.	286
These snip-snap sheeres, in al shieres get great shares,	
And are partakers of the dearest wares.	288

[49]

When fig-tree leaues did shroude mans nakednesse,	289
And home-spun cloath was counted clothing gay,	
Then was mans bodie clad with comelinesse,	
And honour shrouded was in rude array :	292
But since those times by future times were changed,	
Thousands of fashions through the world haue ranged.	294

and his pens complaint.

121

[50]

Ambitious thoughts, hearts haughtie, mindes aspiring, 295

Proud lookes, fond gates, and what not vndescreete,

As seruants waite, mens bodie still atyring

With far-fetcht gewgawes for yong children meete : 298

Wherewith whilst they themselues doe daily decke,

Brauado-wise they scorne to brooke the checke. 300

[51]

Some couet winged sleeues like *Mercurie*, [p. 24] 301

Others, round hose much like to Fortunes wheele

(Noting thereby their owne vnconstancie),

Some weare short cloakes, some cloakes that reach their heele. 304

These Apish trickes vsde in their daily weedes,

Bewray phantasticke thoughts, fond words, foule deedes. 306

[52]

Bold Bettresse braues and brags it in her wiers, 307

And buskt she must be, or not bust at all :

Their riggish heads must be adordnd with tires,

With Periwigs, or with a golden Call. 310

Tut, tut, tis nothing in th'Exchange to change

Monthly, as doth the Moone, their fashions strange. 312

[53]

It seemes, strange birds in England now are bred, 313

And that rare fowles in England build their nest,

When Englishmen with plumes adorne their head,

As with a Cocks-combe or a Peacocks crest. 316

These painted plumes, men in their caps doe weare,

And women in their hands doe trickly beare. 318

[54]

Perhaps some women being foule, doe vse [p. 25] 319

Fowles feathers to shroude their deformitie :

Others perchance these plumes doe rather chuse,

From weather and winde to shield their phisnomie. 322

But whilst both men and women vse these feathers,

They are deem'd light as feathers, winde and weathers. 324

[55]

Some dames are pumpt, because they lue in pompe, 325
 That with *Herodias* they might nimbly daunce,
 Some in their pantophels too stately stompe,
 And most in corked shooes doe nicely prounce. 328
 But here I doubtfull stand, whether to blame
 The shoemakers, or them that weare the same. 330

[56]

In countrie townes, men vse fannes for their come, 331
 And such like fannes I cannot discommend :
 But in great cities, fannes by truls are borne,
 The sight of which doth greatly God offend. 334
 And were it not I should be deem'd precise,
 I could approue these fond fann'd fooles vnwise. 336

[57]

A Painter lately with his pensill drew [p. 26] 337
 The picture of a Frenchman and Italian,
 With whom he plac'd the Spaniard, Turk, and Iew ;
 But by himselfe he sat the Englishman. 340
 Before these laughing, went *Democritus*,
 Behinde these weeping, went *Heraclitus*. 342

[58]

All these in comely vestures were atired, 343
 According to the custome of their land,
 The Englishman excepted, who desired
 With others feathers, like a Iay to stand. 346
 Thus whilst he seeketh forraine brauerie,
 He is accused of vnconstancie. 348

[59]

Some call him Ape, because he imitates ; 349
 Some foole, because he fancies euery bable ;
 Some liken him to fishes caught with baites,
 Some to the winde, because he is vnstable. 352
 Then blame him not, although gainst Englishmen,
 This Englishman writ with his plaintife pen. 354

and his pens complaint.

123

[60]

But hush ! no more ; enough's enough ; fie, fie, [p. 27] 355
 Wilt thou thy countries faults in verse compile ?
 Desist betimes, least thou *peccau* crie,
 For no bird, sure, his owne nest will defile. 358
 Well, sith thou brak'st his head, and mad'st a sore,
 With silence giue a saluc, and write no more. 360

[61]

The world began, and so will end, with Pride ; 361
 With Pride this poynt began, with Pride it ends :
 And whilst in pleasures Chariot she doth ride,
 My plaintife pen, page-like still by her wends. 364
 Thus hauing painted out Prides roysting race,
 At this poynts end, a periods poynt I place. 366

[62]

Now pyning Enuie whining doth appeare, 367
 With bodie leane, with visage pale and wan,
 With withered face, and with vnkeamed haire ;
 She doth both fret and fume, sweare, curse, and ban : 370
 She fareth ill, when other men fare well,
 Others prosperitie is made her hell. 372

[63]

She peepes and pries into all actions, [p. 28] 373
 And she is neuer well but when she iarres :
 She is the mother of all factions,
 She broacheth quarrels, and increaseth warres : 376
 Anger is hot, and wrath doth roughly rage,
 But nothing, Enuies heating hate can swage. 378

[64]

This Trull inticed *Pompey* to contend, 379
 And with great *Caesar* ciuill warres to moue :
 This dame allured kings their liues to spend
 In bloodie broyles, and braules deuoyd of loue : 382
 Incensing subiects gainst their gouernours,
 Sonnes against Sires, Captiues against Conquerors. 384

[65]

As Iron doth consume it selfe with rust, 385
 By eating which, it selfe it still doth eate,
 So doth the enuious man soone come to dust,
 And doth consume himselfe whilst he doth fret. 388
 Thus Enuie still conspires to end his life,
 That liuing with another, liues at strife. 390

[66]

We reade that Enuie twixt two men did grow, [p. 29] 391
 And that the one of them one eye would lose,
 So that he might pluck both eyes from his foe,
 And plucking both eyes out, his eyes might close. 394
 O who would thinke, a man should beare the minde
 To lose one eye, to make another blinde ! 396

[67]

What trade so base but there is Enuie in it, 397
 When Minstrels with blinde Fidlers daily striue ?
 What strife is there, but Enuie doth begin it,
 When iusling Iacks, to walls their betters driue ? 400
 The truth hereof I shall not neede to sweare,
 Sith *Hesiode* old hereof doth witnesse beare. 402

[68]

What is the cause that many mop and moe, 403
 That many scöffe, and scorne, and gibe, and iest,
 With rimes and riddles rating at their foe,
 Flouting the base, and powting at the best ? 406
 What is the cause ? the cause one line shall show :
 Enuie is cause, which in mens hearts doth grow. 408

[69]

Knowledge, within the hart of man doth dwell ; [p. 30] 409
 And loue, within the liuer builds his nest :
 But Enuie, in the gall of man doth swell,
 And playes the rebell in his boyling brest. 412
 O would to God men had no gall at all,
 That Enuie might not harbour in the gall ! 414

and his pens complaint. 125

[70]

Enuie and Charitie together stroue 415

Which of them two a man should entertaine :

The one with spight, the other sought with loue ;

The first in gall, the last in hart would raigne : 418

So long they stroue, that Enuie lost the field,

And Charitie made Enuie captiue yeeld. 420

[71]

Enuie, adiew, and welcome Charitie, 421

The bond of peace and all perfection,

The way that leades to true felicitie,

Filling the soule with most diuine refection. 424

Enuie shall goe, Ile cleaue vnto thy lore,

Thee will I serue, and thee will I adore. 426

[72]

Next followes Wrath, Enuies fierce fellow-mate, [p. 31] 427

Attired in a roring Lions skin,

Ietting along with a giant-like gate,

Which aye a tyrant terrible hath bin. 430

A butcher like, within his hands doth beare

Their harts, which he with woluish teeth doth teare. 432

[73]

Wrath moued *Herod* with blood-thirstie hart 433

To slaughter infants from their mothers brest

Like lambes scarce ean'd, or douses new-hatcht to part,

And with liues losse to leaue both damme and nest. 436

O, had King *Herod* knowne what would ensue,

He had not done what he did after rue. 438

[74]

He shed their blood ; their blood did vengeance craue ; 439

They first too soone, he last too late did dye ;

They led the way, he followed to the graue ;

Both they and he a pray for wormes did lye. 442

Yet thus they differ, wormes them dead did eate,

But him aliue, the wormes did make their meate. 444

[75]

Wrath in *Caligulaes* mad head did grow, [p. 32], 445
 Making him wish that Rome had but one head,
 That he might smite off that head at a blow,
 Whose pompe he saw, like many heads to spread : 448
 But whilst he thought Romes heads in one to lop,
 Romes heads in one, his flower of life did crop. 450

[76]

Wrath is the cause that men in Smith-field meete 451
 (Which may be called smite-field properly);
 Wrath is the cause that maketh euery streete
 A shambles, and a bloodie butcherie, 454
 Where roysting ruffins quarrell for their drabs,
 And for sleight causes, one the other stabs. 456

[77]

Wrath puffes men vp with mindes Thrasonically, 457
 And makes them braue it braggadochio-like :
 Wrath maketh men triumph Tyrannically,
 With sword, with shield, with gunne, with bill and pike : 460
 Yea, now adaies Wrath causeth him to dye
 That to his fellow dares to giue the lye. 462

[78]

Mars is the Chieftaine of this wrathfull host, [p. 33] 463
 Whose embrewd standard is with blood dyed red ;
 Of many he spares few, and kils the most,
 And with their corps his bloodie panch is fed. 466
 Tara tantara, sa, sa, kill, kill, he cries,
 Filling with blood the earth, with srikes the skies. 468

[79]

Wraths fierce fore-runner is Timeritie, 469
 And after Wrath Repentance shortly followes :
 The first rides gallop into miserie,
 The last procures sadnes, despayre, and sorrow. 472
 Who therefore doe desire to liue at rest,
 Let them not harbour wrath within their brest. 474

and his pens complaint. 127

[80]

Wrathis contrarie is Lady Patience, 475

Who conquers most when she is conquered,

She teacheth beasts that they by common sence

Might teach to vanquish, being vanquished. 478

Rammes running back with greater force returne,

And Lime most hot, in most cold springs doth burne. 480

[81]

Patience, a cosin hath calde Sufferance, [p. 34] 481

Neerely akind, because she is so kinde ;

She is most like a Doue in countenance,

And like an Angell in her humble minde ; 484

All Phænix-like she is but rarely found,—

Would God she might be seene on English ground,— 486

[82]

Then naked swords themselues would neuer cloath 487

With wounded skinnes of men whom men did maime ;

Then quarrellers would, after quaffing, loath

With stabs and strokes to kill or make men lame. 490

Then, then I say, swords might in scabberts sleepe,

And some might laugh which are constrainde to weepe. 492

[83]

As thus my pen, writing of Vice, spares none, 493

It brings into my sight a lazie Gill,

A sleeping sluggard and a drowsie drone,

Which snorts and snores, and euer sitteth still : 496

Some call her Sloth, some call her Idlenesse,

A friend to neede, a foe to wealthinesse. 498

[84]

They tearme her Mother of all other vices, [p. 35] 499

Bearing a spawne of many new-bred sinnes :

Many she lures, and many she entices,

Whereof most part is trapped in her ginnes : 502

She is the But at which foule Lust doth shoote,

And where she toucheth, there she taketh roote. 504

[85]

I once did heare of one *Lipotopo* 505
 (Whose pace was equall with the shell-housde snaile)
 That to a fig-tree lasily did go,
 Whose broad-leau'd branches made a shady vaile : 508
 Thithier this lusing lubber softly creeped,
 And there this lazie lizard soundly slept. 510

[86]

But as one *Goffo* by the fig-tree went, 511
 He wakened him from out his drowsie sleepe,
 And earnestly did aske him what he ment,
 Vnder that fig-tree all alone to keepe. 514
 As thus he did *Lipotopo* awake,
 Yawning and gaping, thus he idly spake : 516

[87]

Good friend, it is a paine for me to speake, (p. 36) 517
 Because I vse nothing but only sleeping :
 Yet vnto thee my minde Ile shortly breake,
 And shew the cause of my here daily keeping : 520
 The cause is this; that when these ripe figges fall,
 My gaping mouth might then receiue them all. 522

[88]

As thus he spake, *Goffo* from off the tree 523
 Pluckt a ripe fig, and in his mouth did put it;
 Which when he gan to feele, my friend (quoth he),
 I pray thee stirre my iawes that I may glut it. 526
 Goffo, admiring this his lazinesse,
 Left him as he him found, in idlenesse. 528

[89]

O would my pen were now a pensill made, 529
 And I, a Poet, might a Painter bee,
 That picture-like this patterne might be laide
 Before mens eyes, that it their eyes might see; 532
 By which they, seeing Sloths deformitie,
 Might flie from sloth, and follow industrie. 534

[90]

Now doth appeare dame niggard Auarice, [p. 37] 535
 Who, being loden with gold, gapes for gold :
 She raiseth cheape things to the highest price,
 And in Cheapside makes nothing chaepe be sold, 538
 Which coyne, her chests fild full, fulfill her eye,
 Whilst poore folkes perish in great miserie. 540

[91]

She hath been troubled long with one disease, 541
 Which some a Dropsie call, or drouth of gaine ;
 She drinkes and drinkes againe, yet cannot ease
 Her thirstie sicknesse and her greedie paine : 544
 Still is she sicke, yet is she neuer dead,
 Because her sicknesse still is nourished. 546

[92]

Her bodie grosse, engrosseth all the corne, 547
 And of the grossest wares makes greatest gaine :
 Yea, Grocers now adaies, as men forlorne,
 Auerre that they gainst her haue cause to plaine : 550
 Yet doth she liue, yet doth she tyrannize,
 Because her coyne her works doth wantantize. 552

[93]

This Auarice a cosin-germane hath, [p. 38] 553
 Which many Londoners call Vsurie,
 Which like a braue comptroller boldly saith,
 She will bring England into miserie, 556
 Who, vnder colour of a friendly lending,
 Seemes of her bad trade to make iust defending. 558

[94]

They hand in hand doe walke in euery streete, 559
 Making the proudest Caualiers to stoope :
 If with their debtors they doe chaunce to meete,
 They pen them vp within the *Poultres* coope. 562
 And if for gold lent, men would counters pay,
 In Woodstreets Counter there them fast they lay. 564

[95]

Now Charitie, which is the band of peace, 565
 Is turned to a Scriueners scribling-band,
 To *Indentura facta*, or a lease,
 To racking houses, tenements and land : 568
 All this can gold, all this can siluer do,
 And more then this, if neede require thereto. 570

[96]

From whence comes gold, but from the earth below ? [p. 39] 571
 Whereof, if not of earth, are all men made ?
 Like will to like, and like with like will grow ;
 Growing they florish, flourishing they fade. 574
 But where are gold and men ? in hell ; wher's hell ?
 On earth, where gold and men with gold do dwell. 576

[97]

The prouerbe old I doe approue most true, 577
 Better to fill the bellie then the eye :
 For whilst rich misers feedes on monies view,
 Sparing they liue in wilfull penurie : 580
 Yea, more then this, they liue vpon a crust,
 Whilst in their heaped bags their gold doth rust. 582

[98]

Come, plaintife pen, and whip them with thy rod, 583
 And plainly tell them their Idolatrie,
 Which make their gold their loue, their life, their god,
 Which with their gold desire to liue and die. 586
 Tell them, if to no better vse they turne
 Their gold, they with their gold in hell shall burne. 588

[99]

Thus leauing Vsurie and Auarice, [p. 40] 589
 As Sathans limmes, or fire-brands of hell,
 As rauening wolues that liue by preiudice,
 Or greedie hogs that on mens grounds do dwell : 592
 I post to that which I had almost past,
 But nowe haue ouertaken at the last. 594

and his pens complaint. 131

[100]

The name of her whom heere I meete withall 595
Is Gluttonie, the mother of excesse,
Which, making daintie feasts, doth many call
To eate with her the meate that she did dresse : 598
Who being set to eate her toothsome meat,
Eating doth eate and neuer cease to eate. 600

[101]

This trull makes youngsters spend their patrimonie 601
In sauced meates and sugred delicates,
And makes men stray from state of Matrimonie
To spend their substance vpon whorish mates : 604
That by their lauish prodigalitie
She may maintaine her fleshly vanitie. 606

[102]

With gobs she fils and stuffes her greedie gorge, [p. 41] 607
And neuer is her gaping stomacke fed,
Bits vnchaw'de in her bulke, as in a forge,
Kindle the coales whereof foule lust is bred : 610
Thus doe we see how lazie gluttonie
Comforts her selfe with Ladie Lecherie. 612

[103]

One other mate she hath, call'd Drunkennesse, 613
A bibbing swilbowle and a bowzing gull,
Which neuer drinks but with excessiuenesse,
And drinkes so long vntill her paunch is full ; 616
She drinkes as much as she can well containe,
Which being voyded, then she drinkes againe. 618

[104]

But when the drinke doth worke within her head, 619
She rowles and reekes, and pimpers with the eyes ;
She stamps, she stares, she thinks white black, black red,
She teares and sweares, she geeres, she laughes and cries ; 622
And as her giddie head thinks all turnes round,
She belching fals, and vomits on the ground. 624

[105]

Some men are drunke, and being drunke will fight;	[p. 42]	625
Some men are drunke, and being drunke are merrie;		
Some men are drunke, and secrets bring to light;		
Some men are drunke, and being drunke are sorie:		628
Thus may we see that drunken men haue passions,		
And drunkennesse hath many foolish fashions.		630

[106]

Fishes that in the seas doe drinke their fill,		631
Teach men by nature to shun drunkennesse.		
What bird is there, that with his chirping bill		
Of any liquour euer tooke excesse?		634
Thus beastes on earth, fish in seas, birds in skie,		
Teach men to shun all superfluitie.		636

[107]

Would any heare the discommodities		637
That doe arise from our excesse of drinke?		
It duls the braine, it hurts the memorie,		
It blinds the sight, it makes men bleare-eyd blinke;		640
It kils the bodie, and it wounds the soule;		
Leaue, therefore, leaue, O leaue this vice so foule!		642

[108]

Now, last of all, though perhaps chiefe of all,	[p. 43]	643
My pen hath hunted out lewde Lecherie,		
Which many sinnes and many faults doth call		
To bee pertakers to her trecherie:		646
Her loue is lust, her lust is sugred sower,		
Her paine is long, her pleasure but a flower.		648

[109]

When chast <i>Adonis</i> came to mans estate,		649
<i>Venus</i> straight courted him with many a wile;		
<i>Lucrece</i> once seene, straight <i>Tarquine</i> laid a baite,		
With foule incest her bodie to defile:		652
Thus men by women, women wrongde by men,		
Giue matter still vnto my plaintife pen.		654

[110]

Thousands of whores maintained by their wooers, 655

Entice by land, as Syrens doe by Seas,

Which, being like path-waies or open doores,

Infect mens bodies with the French disease : 658

Thus women, woe of men, though wooed by men,

Still adde new matter to my plaintife pen. 660

[111]

Whilome by nature men and women loued, [p. 44] 661

And prone enough they were to loue thereby ;

But when they *Ouids ars amandi* proued,

Both men and women fell to lecherie : 664

By nature sinning, art of sinne was found

To make mans sinne still more and more abound. 666

[112]

If that I could paint out foule lecherie 667

In her deformed shape and loathsome plight,

Or if I could paint spotlesse Chastitie

In her true portraiture and colours bright, 670

I thinke no maid would euer proue an whore,

But euerie maid would chastitie adore. 672

[113]

Then married men might vild reproaches scorne, 673

And shunne the Harts crest to their hearts content,

With *cornucopia*, Cornewall, and the horne,

Which their bad wiues bid from their bed be sent : 676

Then should no olde-Cocks, nor no cocke-olds crow,

But euerie man might in his owne ground sow. 678

[114]

Then light-taylde hufwiues, which like *Syrens* sing, [p. 45] 679And like to *Circes* with their drugs enchant,

Would not vnto the Banke-sides round-house fling,

In open sight, themselues to show and vaunt : 682

Then, then, I say, they would not masked goe,

Though vnseene, to see those they faine would know. 684

[115]

But in this Labyrinth I list not tread, 685
 Nor combate with the minotaure-like lust;
 Hence therefore will I wend by methods thread,
 And wend I will, because needs wend I must : 688
 Farewell, nay fare-ill, filthie lecherie,
 And welcome vndefiled chastitie. 690

[116]

Vesta, I do adore thy puritie, 691
 And in thy Temples will I tapers beare;
 Thou, O *Diana*, for virginie,
 Shalt be the matrone of my modest feare, 694
 That both in one, both beeing Goddesses,
 May of my maden-head be witnesses. 696

[117]

O may my flesh, like to the Ermiline, [D. 46] 697
 Vnspotted liue, and so vnspotted die,
 That when I come before the sacred shrine,
 My vntoucht corps themselues may guiltlesse trie; 700
 Then shall I glorie that I haue bin taught
 To shun the snare wherein most folkes are caught. 702

[118]

Thus hath my pen describ'd, and descry'd, 703
 Sinne with his seuen heads of seauen deadly vices,
 And now my plaintife pen hath verified
 That sinne, from vertue, mortall men entices : 706
 If any wicked *Momus* carpe the same,
 In blaming this, I passe not for his blame. 708

[119]

Dictator-like I must confesse I write, 709
 And like a *Nomothetes* criticall,
 Perhaps my pen doth crabedly endite
 In plaintife humors meerely Cinicall : 712
 But sooth to say, *Tom-telthroth* will not lie,
 We heere haue blaz'd Englands iniquitie. 714

and his pens complaint.

135

[120]

And for because my pen doth liquour want,

[p. 47] 715

Heere (being drie) he willing is to rest,

Not for that he doth further matter want,

For so to thinke, were but a simple iest :

718

And if (as he hath not) he haue offended,

He hopes (as you) so he wilbe amended.

720

Finis.

TOM of All Trades.
OR
THE PLAINE
PATH-VVAY TO
PREFERMENT.

BEING
A Discovery of a passage to Promotion
in all Professions, Trades, Arts, and
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L O N D O N .

Printed by *B. Alsop* and *T. Fawcet*, for *Benjamin Fisher*,
and are to bee sold at his shop at the signe of the
Talbot in *Aldersgate-street*. 1631.

[*Bodleian Press-marks* :—4 : T. 34. Art, and Douce PP. 202.]



The Epistle Dedicatorie.

P Oore TOM was set on shore in Kent,
 And to the next good Towne hee went ;
 At whose approach the Bosseldir
 Kept a most lamentable stirre, 4.
 That TOM would offer to returne
 Through the good Towne of Syttingborne.
 Hee askt him, If hee had a Passe ?
 And told him what the Statute was ; 8.
 And like a Reverend Vestry wit
 Swore hee would not allow of it,
 But did advise him to resort
 To fetch his Passe at Tonstall Court. 12.
 Our TOM of all Trades hereupon
 Askt what was his condition
 Who was the Owner of that place,
 So farre in all the Countries grace ? 16.
 For whom (as hee walkt on the way)
 He heard the poore so much to pray,
 The Rich to praise ; And both contend,
 To whom hee was the greater friend. 20.
 Didst never meete his name there spread
 Where thou thy selfe didst vse to tread ?
² No ? not Sir EDVVARD HALES ? Quoth he ;
 What TOM of Odcombe may'st thou be ? 24.
 Hee is a man scarce spends a minute
 But hath his Countries service in it ;

¹ page iii.

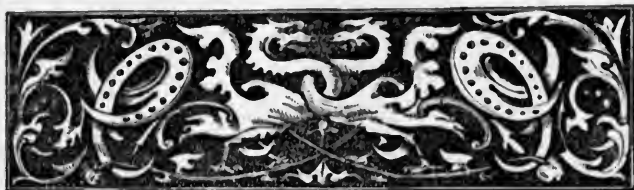
² page iv.

Spends more to make them all accord,
Then other Knights doe at their boord. 28
Hee call'd him Knight and Barronet,
Both wise and Iust; And what more yet ?
He swore that if hee were but mist,
The Countrey could not so subsist. 32
With that our TOM repaired thither,
Conferr'd Report and Prooffe together ;
And found Report had wrong'd him much
In giving but an out-side touch,— 36
A tincture of a Painters trade,
Where all was substance and in-layd.
Then TOM resolv'd to walke no farther
To finde a Father or a Mother ; 40
No other Patron would hee seeke,
But tender all at this Knights feete :
If hee accept what's well intended,
Our TOM of all Trades travaile's ended. 44
Signa virtutum tuarum longe lateque ferens.

THO: POVVELL.

[This text, though copied from the *Douce* copy in the Bodleian, has now been collated with 4 : *T. 34. Art.* Variations in the *Douce* copy :—

- p. 137, l. 4, It it true
- p. 143, l. 3 *from the bottom*, gift
- „ *last line*, incumbent (with small *i*).
- p. 144, l. 2, Dilecet
- „ l. 14, Alchermi
- „ l. 16, Parsonadge
- „ *last line but 2*, immediately
- p. 146, *last line but 2*, Cantiocluerum
- „ *last line but 1*, Yf
- p. 147, l. 4, Person
- „ l. 10, for Induction.
- „ l. 12, peculiar.]



TOM of all Trades:
OR
THE PLAINE PATH-
WAY TO PREFERMENT.

(. .)



RINITY Terme was now ended²; For by description of the time it could bee no other parcell of the yeare. In that the Scriveners at *Temple-barre* had no imployment, but writing of blanke Bonds and texting of Bills for letting of Chambers in *Chancery-lane*. The Vintners of *Fleetstreet* discharged theyr Iourneymen; A generall humility more then usuall possest the Cookery of *Ram-Alley*. The Ostlers of *Holborne* had more than ordinary care to lay up theyr Gluests bootes, rather for feare of theyr slipping out of Towne than for any good observance towards them. And your Countrey Attorneys would no longer by any ³meanes endure the vnwholsome ayre of an Eightpenny Ordinarie. Every one that had wherewith to discharge his Horse out of the stable, strove who should first be gone. And amongst the rest, my selfe made shift for so much money as wherewith to abate the fury of Mistrisse *Overcount* mine hostesse, and so I departed likewise.

At the top of *Highgate* hill I overtooke a Gentleman of *Northamptonshire*, riding homeward, whom I well knew; Him I saluted cheerefully, and he received me lovingly. But in travayling together (Me thought) he was not Master of that mirthfull disposition which he was wont to carry along with him to shorten the way betwixt his

¹ page 1.

² In June.

³ page 2.

house and *London*. I gave him to vnderstand how strange and notable this alteration appeared in him; And withall desired to know so much of the occasion thereof as might be impartible to a freind of so small growth. To which he answered thus: Sir, I come from *London* (It is true), from the Terme (It is certaine true), from *London* and Terme. True and certaine in nothing but expences in all things; yet I would have you know that it is neither the Thunderclap of dissolving an *Iniunction*, nor the Doomesday of a *Decree*, nor Counsaylors *Fees*, nor Attornies *Bylls*, in a language able to fright a man out of his wits, can proscribe me my wonted mirth. It is something nearer and dearer (my deare friend) that robs me of that cheere which used to lift me vp into the very Spheare, where *Ioue* himselfe sits to bid all his guests welcome right heartily.

I remember mee of Children, sixe Soones and ¹three daughters, of whom I am the vnhappy Father. In that, besides the scars which my vnthriftines hath dinted vpon their fortunes, the wounds of vnequall times, and a tempestuous age approaching, are like to take away from them all hope of outliuing the low water ebbe of the evill day; all meanes of thriving by honest paynes, study, or industry are bereft them. The common vpon which industry should depasture is overlayd; Numerousnes spoiles all, And poverty sells all at an vnder value.

In this case (Sir) what can be aduised? Wherevnto I thus replied.

Sir, I haue heedfully attended you in the delivery of your perplexed thoughts concerning the care which you have of your children, taking the true and even levell of the declention of arts, the distent of trades & trading, the poverty of all professions, and the destemper, not of ours only, but of all Christian clymates at this present, tending rather to a more contagion in the generall ayre then a calmer temperament (for ought that yet appeareth): as for the stormynesse of the sea of state, forraigne or domestick, let vs leave the greater and lesser vessels that be exposed to it vnto the proper Pylates, Masters, and Marryners, who have the charge to attend the line or plye at the tackle; we are but poore passengers, and may assure our selues to partake in their boone voyage, if they suc[c]eed well,—as they may be certaine to suffer in the same Shipwracke with vs, if wee miscarry.

I addresse me to give you the best advise I can, touching the preferment of every of your ¹six sonnes and three daughters, in manner following.

It is true in most Gentlemen, and very likely in you, as in others, living onely vpon the renew of lands, That the height of their Husbandry amounts to no more than to cleere the last halfe yeeres booking, and borrowing at the rent day, That their credit may hold vp and keepe reputation till the next ensuing that againe.

When you dye, the eldest Sonne claimes the inheritance of what you leave, thanke God and nature for it, your selfe least of all, and your fatherly providence never a whit.

If you take some course in your life time to make the rest of your Children some small portions or estates out of the whole of your lands, It is tenne to one but you destroy both him and them by that meanes.

For the heire, commonly striving to vphold the reputation of his Ancestors, He abates nothing of his fathers accustomed expences towards the raising of those portions or estates so deducted. And they, on the other side, presume so much vpon the hope thereof, that no profession will fit them. To bee a *Minister* (with them) is to be but a *Pedant*; A *Lawyer*, a *mercenarie* fellow; A *Shop-keeper*, a man most subject to the most wonderfull Cracke, and a creature whose welfare depends much vpon his Wives well bearing and faire carriage. What is, then, to be done?

Surely it would be wished, seeing God and nature hath provided for the eldest, your younger sonnes, and your daughters especially, being worst ²able to shift, should bee by you provided for in the first place, while your Land is of virgin reputation, while it is chaste, and vndishonested by committing of single fornication with Countrie Creditors, that trade without sheets (that is) by *Pole deed*, only for saving of costs; or, at least, before it have defiled the bed of its reputation by prostituting to the adulterous imbracings of a Citie Scrivener. But especially, before it grow so impudent as to lie downe in the Market place, and to suffer everie pettie Clarke to bring its good name vpon Record, and charge it that it was taken in the very fact betweene other mens sheets,—As in this Statute, or in that

¹ page 4.

² page 5.

Judgment: Take heed of that by any meanes. And bee sure to match your eldest sonne when your credit is cryed vp to the highest, while your heire is yet in your power to dispose, and will bend to your will, before his blood begin to feele the heate of any affections kindling about him, or before he can tell what difference is betwixt a blacke wrought Wastcoate with a white apron, & a loose bodied gowne without an apron. Put him of in his best clothes, (I meane) in the assurance of your lands; sell him at *the* highest rate. Then dicotomize the whole portion of his wife into severall shares betwixt your other children. Not share and share like, but to every each one, the more, according to their defects: Let impotencie, decreptnes, ilfavourdnes, and incapacitie, rob the other of so much money as they have done them of comlinessse, activitie, beautie, and wit.

Put them not into any course of living according to any prescript order or method of your ¹owne election, But according to their inclination and addition, seeing that everyone, by instinct of nature, delighteth in that wherein he is like to bee most excellent. And delight and pride in any thing undertaken, makes all obstacles in the way of attaining to perfection of no difficulty.

Now, in the next place, take heed that you put off those your sonnes whom you finde fit and addicted to be bred in the *Ministerie*, or made up to the law, or to be apprentized, betimes, and before they take the taynt of too much liberty at home.

And when they be put forth, call them not home speedily to revisit their fathers house, no, not so much as Hospitably by any meanes.

In the first place, take your
direction for the
SCHOLLER.

His Education.

His Maintenance.

His Advancement.

FOr his Education. The Free-Schooles generally afford the best breeding in good letters.

So many of them also afford some reasonable meanes in ayde of young Schollers, for their diet, lodging, and teaching, given to them by the Founders or Benefactors of such Schooles.

¹ Some of them be of the foundation of some Kings and Queenes of this Land; and they are commonly in the gift of the King, or his Provost, or Substitute in that behalfe. Others be of the foundation of some Bodies or Societies incorporate; And they are commonly in the gift of such Masters, Wardens, Presidents, and their Senior fellows; such chiefe officers of any other title, or such Master, Wardens, and Assistants, or such Opposers, Visitants, or Committees of such bodies respectively as be appointed thereunto. Others be of the foundation of some private persons: And they are, for the most part, in the gift of the Executor, Heire, or Feoffees of such Donor, according to the purport of his Will, or Grant, or both.

Of every of which severall kindes respectively are:

Eaton.

Westminster.

Winchester.

The Merchanttaylors Schoole, London.

The Skynners at Tunbridge.

Sutton's Hospitall.

St. Bartholomews.

And very many other the like.

Briefly, few or no Counties of this Kingdome are unfurnisht of such Scholes. And some have so many, that it is disputable whether the Vniversities, with the Innes of Court and Chancerie, have where to receive them or no.

Some of such free-Schooles, againe, have *Schol²lerships* appendant unto them, in the one of the Vniversities, or both.

To which, upon Election yearely, they are removeable, As

From Eaton to Kings Colledge, Cambridge.

From Westminster to Trinity Colledge, Cambridge, or Christchurch, Oxon.

From Winchester to New Colledge, Oxon.

¹ page 7.

² page 8.

*From the Merchantaylors to St. Iohn's, Oxon.
And the like, from many the like.*

Some other Free-Schooles have pensions for preferment of their Schollers, and for their maintenance in the Vniversitie.

Some Companies Incorporate (especially of *London*, having no such pensions in certaine) doe usually out of the Stocke of their Hall allow maintenance in this kinde.

Besides that, there be many other private persons (upon my knowledge) who doe voluntarily allow yearly exhibition of this nature.

Now if you would know how to finde what is given to any such Free-Schooles, and in whose disposing they now be,

Search

*In the Tower of London, till } { For Grants and for License
the end of Rich. the 3. } { of Mortmaine, inde.*

*And in the Chappell of the } {
Rolles. } { And for the like.*

*From thence till the present. } {
¹ In the Register of the Prerogative Court, for } { For such Grants
such things devised by Will, by King, Queene, } { given by Will.
or Subiect. }*

And sometimes you shall finde such things both in the *Tower* and the *Prerogative*, and in the *Rolls* and *Prerogative* respectively.

For the time since our reformed Church of *England* began here,

*Search } { Doctor } { For all from the King, or from
Willets } { any other.
Synopsis. }*

Search

*In divers of our Chroni- } {
cles. } { For the like.*

Next, adde certaine helpes for discovery and attayning thereof.

First (if it may be) procure a sight of the Liedger Bookes, of such as in whom the disposition of such things resteth, which they keepe for their owne use.

Next, be acquainted with some of the Disposers themselves.

Next, take the directions of the Master or Teacher of such Free-Schooles.

Especially to be interested in the Clarkes or *Registers* of such *Societies* as have the disposing of any such things.

Also to use means by Letters of persons powerfull and usefull to such disposers.

¹For (indeed) it is not the sound of a great mans name to a Letter in these dayes, wherein they are growne so common and familiar to our *Societies* (of *London* especially), can prevaile so soone as the Letter subscribed by the *Lord Maior*, or other eminent Officer of the Citie, to whose commandement they be immediately subjugate.

Lastly, if you use the meanes least seene, most used, and best allowed, together with these, For discoverie and attaining of any such thing, it will not be besides the purpose, as I take it.

*Now suppose your sonne is brought to the Vniversitie
by Election or as Pensioner.*

THE first thing you must take to your care is: In case he come not by election, but as a Pensioner to live for the present upon your owne charge, how to procure him a Schollership in the Colledge where you bestow him.

Or in case he come elected into one, how to procure a farther addition of maintenance to him.

To bring him into a Schollership, place him with a Senior fellow of the house (as Tutor), though you allow to some Iunior fellow somewhat yearely for reading unto him.

This Senior fellow, if the number of places voide will beare it, may nominate your sonne for one in his owne right; if it will not beare it, he may call to his ayd some and so many suffrages of the rest, as, with the speaking merit of your sonne, may worke your desire.

²Then how to procure a pension for addytament of meanes.

The chiefe skill is to finde it out. being eyther in the gift of some

body Incorporate, Or of some private person, Wherein the discovery is to bee made (as aforesaid).

If you sue to a Company consisting of many persons Tradesmen, you must enquire who bee the most potent Patritians, and best reputed Vestrie wits amongst them, such as carry their gloves in their hands, not on their hands.

Amongst an *Assistance* of many, onely two or three strike the stroke, and hold the rest in a wonderfull admiration of their extraordinary endowments. And how to speake sensibly to these two or three is no Myserie; You know they are faithfull fiduciaries in the election; And, therefore, you must not presume to offer any thing by any meanes. Onely you may desire them to accept this poore peece of plate, with your name and Armes upon it, and binde you unto their love, in keeping the memory of you hereafter. Doe but try them in this kinde, and attend the successe. I tell you, this, with a Bucke at the Renter Wardens feast, may come somewhat neere to the matter.

But for the pension to be obtained of a private person, the way is not the same. It proceedeth of the givers meere charity, and must be taken by the hand of a desertfull receiver. Though withall it may sometimes fall out, that merit is made by mediation, especially of some such reverend Divine, as he doth most respect and frequent. For other, let^tters can little prevaile with such persons.

The best note to discover a man inclinable to allow such a pension, is to examine how wealth and charitie are equally and temporarily mingled in him; And be sure, withall, that he be a man of some reasonable understanding in what he doth in this kinde. For a Fooles pension is like a new fashion, eagerly pursued at the beginning, but as scurvily left off in the proceeding.

Your next care is, in his due time to put on a fellowship, when he shall put off his Schollership, seeing the Schollership keeps him company no farther than to the degree of Master of Arts, and a quarter of a yeare after, in those Colledges, where Schollerships are longest lived, And in some not so long.

In some Colledges The Fellowship follows the Schollership of course; and as the one leaveth him, the other entertaines him. But

in the most it is not so, but comes by Election. Which Election passeth by the Master and Senior Fellowes, whereof every one doth name one, if the number to be Elected will beare it; or if not, then they passe by most voyces.

Where note, that the Master hath a double voyce, and in some places hee hath the nomination of one, if there be two places voyd, yea, if there be but one at sometimes.

In Colledges, the letters of great persons, espec[ally] of the Lords grace of *Canterburie*, and the Vniversitie Chancellor, have beene of great prevailance; But it is not so now in these dayes.

¹ There bee beneficiall gradations of preferment likewise, for Fellowes in their Colledges; as *Lecturer*, *Deane*, *Bowser*, *Vice-master*, and *Master*. But, for my part, I better like and commend those who, when they find themselves fit to put forth into the world, take the first preferment that is offered unto them, rather than such who live cloystered like Votaries; who have Sacraments to fill up their places, be it but to keepe out others, such as use no exercise but wiping the dust off their bookes, and have an excellent activity in handling the fox taylor, such as hold no honour like to *Supplicat reverentij vestris*; And to be head *Bowsier* of the Colledge, as good as to be Chiefe Butler of *England*.

These preferments of the Colledge, all but that of the Master, comes of course by order and antiquity. Therefore, no meanes but patient abiding, needs for the acquiring of them in their due time.

I hasten to send your sonne out of the Cloyster into the Commonwealth, and to shew you how many wayes of Advancement are open unto him abroad, with the meanes to discover and attaine.

And first for the Ministrie.

First, for his ease, let him looke no farther then next to hand, and enquire what benefices belong ²to their owne Colledge, and are in the gift of their Master and Senior fellowes (as most Colledges have divers such); and amongst them, which are void at the present, or whose Incumbent is not like to live long. And if he

¹ page 13.

² page 14.

find out any such, than, if he know not, after so long continuance among them, to speake in his Seniors owne *Dilect*, let him never travaile beyond *Trumpington*¹ for me.

More indigitly, For attaining of such a Benefice, let him enquire where the Mattens are read with Spectacles, or where the good old man is lifted vp into the pulpit, or the like, and make a way for Succession accordingly.

Where note, that many times a fellow of the house may hold such a Benefice together with his fellowship, or a Pension, for increment of livelyhood. And such tyes as these are commonly the bond of matrimony, whereby they are so wedded to the Colledge.

Next, he must clime vp to the maine top of *Speculation*, and there looke about him to discover what Benefices are emptie abroad, where the Incumbent lives only vpon the Almes of *Confectio Alchermis* ; Or where one is ready to take his rise out of Sierge into Sattin, out of Parsonage and a Prebendarie into a *Deanarie* and a *Donative*, let him not be slow of footmanship in that case, by any meanes.

² For Benefices abroad.

Benefices a broad are in the gift of

The King immediately,
Or the Lord Keeper for the King :
Some Lord Bishop :
Some Deane and Chapter :
Some Bodie incorporate :
Some Parish :
Some Private Patron.

You shall find in the Tower a collection of the Patent Rolls gathered of all Presentations made by the King in those dayes to any Church Prebendarie or Chappell, In right of the Crowne, or other-ways, from i. of *Edward* the first, till the midst of *Edward* the third.

The King himselfe, only and immediately presenteth in his owne right to such Benefices as belong to him, and are aboue twenty pounds value in the *first Fruits* Bookes.

¹ Near Cambridge.

² page 15.

For attayning of any which, I can advice you of no better course, than to learne the way to the backe stayres.

The Lord Keeper presents for the King to all such benefices as belong to his Majestie, and are under twenty pounds value in the bookes.

Now to know which of these are full, and who are Incumbents in any of these,

Search

The first Fruits Office.

The Clarke, who hath the writing of the Presentations.

¹*The Lord Keepers Secretarie being.*

Where note, that the King hath used very seldome to grant any such living in Reversion.

And the Lord Keeper now being, His care is so great in this, as in all cases of common good to provide for mans merit, and cherish industrie in the growing plants, that no one can offer unto him a request² of this kinde without trespasse to his good disposition.

In the next place, concerning Benefices in the Presentation of any of the Lords Bishops.

Note, that most Bishopricks in *England* have presentation to divers Benefices belonging to their Seas.

For the number and present estate of these

Search

Their owne Leidgers.

Their Registers.

Enquire of

Their Auditors.

Their Stewards of their Courts.

And sometimes you shall light upon some of theyr bookes of this kind, in the hands of the heyres or Executors of such as have borne such offices under them.

He that is Chaplaine to such a Lord Bishop hath, for the most part, the best meanes, accesse, and opportunity, to ataine to such a Benefice.

The commendations of such a great personage, as to whom this

¹ page 16.

² orig. request

Patron oweth greatest respect, especially for his affairing in Court, may doe some good in the matter.

The like wayes of discovery, and the like meanes ¹of attaining any Benefice in the Presentation of any *Deane* and *Chapter*, are to be used with them respectively, as with the Bishops.

With every *Deane* and *Chapter* are likewise divers *Prebendaries*, to be obtained of their gift after the same manner, and by the same meanes also.

The other bodies Incorporate, besides those of *Colledges* and *Deanes* and *Chapters*, have many of them (especially of London and some subordinate Societies thereof) right of the presentation to divers Benefices.

Also some Parishes, by prescription, doe present to their owne perochiall Benefices. And many Patrons are content to present, according to the approbation of the Parishioners, upon their hearing, and allowing, and due exclamation of the integrity of the life of such suitors, and no otherwise; divers governors, and gradations of the lands of divers Hospitals, and *Mesons de dieu*, have like right of presentation to Benefices, as have other bodies Incorporate. And the meanes of discovery and attaining are likewise the like.

In Parishes and Companies of Tradesmen Incorporate, some very few rule the roast.

Your Alderman of the Ward, his Deputie, your Common Councell-man, Yea, sometime that petty Epitomie of Wardemote Enquerst, that little busie morsell of Iustice (the *Beadle* of the Ward), will make a strong partie in the election, if he be put to it. The Probatory Sermon, that must be made upon such tryall before such an *Auditorie*, would be according to the capacitie in generall, But more ²especially according to the humor and addiction of those whose wits the rest have in singular reverence, As Mr. *Francis Fiat*, a good vnderstanding Fishmonger (I assure you); you may give the stile of right worshipfull to them, though the best man of the company be but a Wine Cooper, and his iudgement better in *Claret* then in *Contioclerum* a great deale.

If your sonne vpon his tryall can but fit their pallats smoothly, which is hard to doe, In regard that they are so hallow mouthed,

¹ page 17.

² page 18.

let him be sure, though he misse the Benefice for want of preperation, yet tenne to one but they will straine themselves to bring him in as a *Lecturer*, which is a thing they reverence farre beyond the Parson of the Parish, by many degrees.

Lastly, for private *Patrons* and the Benefices in their gifts,

Search,

The Bishops Register :

for Institution and Presentation.

The Archdeacons Register :

for the Induction.

The Archbishops Register :

if it be a Peculiar.

It was my chauce lately to see a booke of all the Benefices within the Diocesse of *Canterbury*, with the manner of their tything in every each one respectiue. In which I find that there are, or should be, with the *Register* of every Lord Bishop, seauen Bookes kept for Entrie of the matters and busines of their Diocesse, of which this of Benefices is¹ the cheife.

²The like I saw formerly of the Diocesse of *St. Davids*, which confirmes mee in the institution and custome of keeping the said bookes also in other Diocesse.

And seing that severall private³ patrons are of severall dispositions; some more Lucrative and Covetous, Others more charitable and religious; I can give you no other rule of attaining the Benefice than this, *viz.*

That your sonne bring with him abilitie of learning, Integritie of life, and conformitie of behaviour, according to the order of the Church establisht amongst vs; and these shall make his way with⁴ the good and generous Patron. But for the other patron, it makes no matter at all for learning, and a very litle for manners, or whether he be a man conformable or no. Truely he is indifferent; for his part, very indifferent.

To such a patron your sonne must present himselfe thus (if he meane to be presented), according to present necessitie: He must

¹ in *orig.* ² page 19. ³ private *in orig.* ⁴ whitth *in orig.*

both speake and prove himselfe a man indued with good gifts, For he shall have to deale with a Patron of a quick Capacitie, more dexterous in apprehension than your sonne or you can be in deliverie.

Be this Patron what he will, your comfort is, the Benefice must be fild, and that within a limited time; howsoever, it is dangerous to attend the ending of the day in this case, (For seldome doth the Clarke of the market get any thing by their standing too long and above their accustomed houre.)

¹ Lapse by reason of *Simony*, and Lapse for not presenting in due time; Both offer advancement to learning; But the first is as hard to discover as a witch, And the second as rare to find out as a faithfull fiduciarie or a fast Freind.

The degrees of rising in the Ministrie are not easier knowne then practized by the industrious man.

Breifly, if all Church livings in *England* were equally² distributed, There is noe one of the Ministry, if he want not learning or good manners, needs want maintenance or good Livelyhood.

Here I could wish to God, That it might please the right reuerend Fathers of the Church the Lord Bishops, That they would once in every of their times cause a true Catalogue of all the Benefices within their severall Diocesse, with the names of the Patrons thereof, according to the last presentation, to be sent into the office of the *first fruits*, for the better information of all such as deserue, and would gladly attaine to, some meanes of maintenance, which they may the better doe by hauing recourse thither, there to take notice of all things of this nature. For I know that many sit downe in their wants, having good meanes to many private Patrons, onely for lacke of knowledge of the same.

Note that it is an vsuall thing in private Patrons³ to graunt reversion and Advowson of such livings.

My selfe intended heretofore to collect all such Benefices, with their Patrons, into a certaine Cal⁴lender, for such direction (as afore-sayd), and made some passage into it. But the farther I went, the more impossible I found it. And I am now resolved, that without the Bishops assistance it cannot be done.

And so much for the Ministerie.

¹ page 20.

² equally *in orig.*

³ Parons *in orig.*

⁴ page 21.

The Lawes promotions follow.

By
Civill Law
and
Common Law.

For breeding of your youth in the Civill Law, there are two Colledges of especiall note in our Vniversities: the one is *Trinitie-hall* in *Cambridge*; the other is *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*.¹

I remember me not of any Free-Schoole in *England* that have any place appendant in *Trinitie-hall* in *Cambridge*. But in new Colledge of *Oxford*, the Free-Schoole of *Winchester* hath claime both of Schollerships and Fellowships, the whole Colledge consisting of none other, as I take it.

It is to be confest, the charge of breeding a man to the Civill Law is more expensive, and the way more painefull, and the bookes of greater number and price, than the Common Law requireth. But ²after the Civill Lawyer is once growne to Maturity, His way of Advancement is more beneficiall, more certaine, and more easie to attaine, than is the Common Lawyers; and all because their number is lesse, their learning more intricate. And they admit few or no Sollicitors to trample betweene them and the Clyent. So that the Fee comes to them immediately and with the more advantage.

The Preferments at which they may
arrive are these :

Chancellor to the Byshop.

Archdeacon.

Commissarie, where they have Commissarie Officiall.

Iudge, and Surrogate.

Advocate for the King.

Mr. of the Chancerie.

The Kings Proctor.

Advocate, and Proctor at large.

¹ MS. note in the Art copy, rather Alsoules by farre.

² page 22.

In these Courts, viz.

The High Commission.

The Delegates.

The Prerogative.

The Consistorie.

The Arches.

The Bishops Courts.

The Archdeacons Courts.

Chancellors, Commissaries, and Officials Court.

The Admiraltie Courts.

The Court of the Kings Requests.

In times past

The countenance of some Byshop, especially of the ¹Lord *Arch-bishop*, upon a *Civilian*, will much advance his practice as an Advocate, and give him promotion² as a Iudge.

There are under the greater officers aforementioned divers other
inferiour Officers: as

Register.

Arctuarie.

Examiner.

The number of the Doctors, (though I finde them never to have beene limited,) Yet it is certaine that the time was within memory of man when the house of their *Commons* did commonly give them all sufficient lodging and dyet. And as for the number of *Proctors*, they were of late times limited. How it is now, I know not.

For the Common Law.

FOR breeding of *Students* at the *Common Law*, take directions for their *method* of studie out of that *Tractate* which Mr. *Iustice Dodridge* did in his time pen for the purpose. Onely (for my part) I doe much commend the ancient custome of breeding of the younger *Students*. First, in the Innes of *Chancery*; there to be the better prepared³ for the Innes of Court. And this must needs be the

¹ page 23.

² promotion *in orig.*

³ prepared *in orig.*

better way, seeing too much liberty at the first proves very fatal to many of the younger sort. I have observed, and much commend also the breeding of some Common Lawyers in this kinde, viz.

That when they have beene admitted first into an Inne of the *Chancerie*, they have beene withall entred as *Clarkes* in the office of some *Prothonotarie* of the *Common-Pleas*, to adde the skill of the Practicke to their speculation. And if a Student be thus bred, by his foundation in the one, and his experience in the other, he shall with more facilitie than others, who step into the Inne of Court at first, attaine to an abilitie of practise.

Besides other ordinary requisite parts and Arts in a Common Lawyer, Skill in the *Records* of all Courts of *Record*, and in other *antiquities* of President, With some Reading in the Civill Law, also will much inable him.

The Common Lawyer is to be bred onely upon the purse. The charge most at the first. For after he hath spent some few yeares effectually, He may attaine to the imployment of some private friends, for advising with and instructing of greater Counsaile, whereby he shall adde both to his meanes and knowledge.

It is true, that I have knowne some Attorneys and Solicitors put on a Counsaillors gowne without treading the same usuall path to the barre (as aforesaid). But indeed, I never looke upon them but I thinke of the Taylor, who in one of his Customers cast suites had thrust himselfe in amongst the *Nobilitie* at a Court Maske, where, pulling out his Handkercher, hee let fall his Thimble, and was so discovered, and handled and dandled from hand to foote, till the Guard² delivered him at the great Chamber doore, and cryed, "farewell, good feeble!"

If the Common Lawyer be sufficiently able in his profession, he shall want no practice; if no practice, no profit.

The time was that the younger Counsaile had some such helpe, as

To be a Favourite,

A Kindred,

To marry a Neece, Cosin, or a Chamber-maide.

But those dayes be past, and better supply their roomes.

¹ page 24; pages 24, 25 misnumbered in orig.

² page 25.

As fellowes of Colledges in the Vniversities get pensions or Benefices to adde to their livelyhood, So Barresters and Counsailors of the Innes of Court advance their meanes by keeping of

*Courts of Mannors,
Lects and Barrons,
Swanimootes of Forrests,
Stannaries,
Cinque Ports, &c.*

By places of

*Iudges of Inferiour Courts. As
London, and other like Corporations.
The Virdge.
The Tower of London.
St. Katherines, neare the Tower.
Borough of Southwarke.
The Clinke.
Wentworth, and like Liberties.*

¹ By office of

*Recorder of some Co[r]porate Towne.
Feodarie of some Counties.
The Kings Counsayle in the Marches of Wales, or at Yorke,
or Iudge, or Counsayle of some Countie Pallatine.*

The greater places of preferment for Common Lawyers are

*The Iudges at Westminster and elsewhere.
The next are all the severall Officers of the Courts of Westminster, and elsewhere.*

All which you shall finde set forth breifly in *Smiths Commonwealth of England*, and part in mine owne Search of Records. And all these together, afford suffic[i]ent maintenance for thousands of persons, who may bee here well provided for.

Here I should, and here I could, for better direction of yonger brothers, shew what meniall *Clarkeships* of large exhibition are vnder the great Officers of the Land, the Iudges, the *Kings Counsayle*, and other Officers which are not elsewhere publisht. And I know it

would open a doore to many a proper mans preferment, especially vnder the *Lord Keeper*, as *Secretaries for Chancerie* busynesse, and Spirituall promotions, the *Comm[i]ssion of the Peace*, *Iniunctions*, the *Dockquetts*. And other the like vnder the *Lord Treasurer*, as *Secretaries* for the busynesse of the *Realme* and the *Custome-house*; besides the *Inlets* to so many preferments about the *Customes* and *Escheators*; places vnder the *Lord Treasurer*, vnder the *Chauncellor* of the *Exchequer*, *Duchie* and *Principalitie of Wales*, and *Duchie of* ¹*Cornewall*, as *Seale keeper*, *Secretary*, &c.

Vnder the *Master of the Court of Wardes*, as *Secretarie*; vnder the *Judges*, as *Marshall*; *Clarke of the Bailes*, &c.; Vnder the *Barrons of the Exchequer*, as *Examiner*; *Clarke of the Bailes*, and other *Clarkes*.

Vnder the *Kings Attourney Generall*, as *Clarke of the Pattens*, *Clarke of the Confessions and entries*, *Clarke of the References*, *Booke bearer*. Vnder the *Sollicitor Generall*: *Clarke of the Patents*, *Booke bearer*. Besides many other *Clarkes* vnder the white stauces of the Court, and in the Counting house, and many seuerall offices.² All which, with hundreds more that I could name, with a plainer and more large deduction, were it not for feare that what I well intend for generall good, would be taken in offence for priuate preiudice. But for the *Clarkeships* of the *Kings* houshold, examine farther the *Blacke booke* in the *Exchequer*.

The Phisition followes.

ANd heere I remember me of an old tale following, viz.
At the beginning of the happy raigne of our late good Queene *Elizabeth*, diuers Commissioners of great place, being authorized to enquire of, and to displace, all such of the *Clergie* as would not conforme to the reformed *Church*, one amongst others was Conuented before them, who being asked whether³ he would subscribe or no, denied it, and so conse⁴quently was adiudged to lose his benefice and to be deprived his function; wherevpon, in his impatience, he said,

¹ page 27.

² offices in orig.

³ whechter in orig.

⁴ page 28.

'That if they (meaning the Commissioners) held this course it would cost many a mans life.' For which the Commissioners called him backe againe, and charged him that he had spoke treasonable and seditious words,¹ tending to the raying of a rebellion or some tumult in the Land; for which he should receiue the reward of a Traytor. And being asked whether hee spake those words or no, he acknowledged it, and tooke vpon him the Iustification thereof; 'for, said he, yee have taken from me my liuing and profession of the Ministrie; Schollership is all my portion, and I have no other meanes now left for my maintenance but to turne *Phisition*; and before I shalbe absolute Master of that Misterie, (God he knowes) how many mens lives it will cost. For few *Phisitions* vse to try experiments² vpon their owne bodies.'

With vs, it is a Profession can maintaine but a few. And diuers of those more indebted to opinion than learning, and (for the most part) better qualified in discoursing their traualles than in discerning their patients malladies. For it is growne to be a very huswiues trade, where fortune preuailes more then skill. Their best benefactors,³ the *Neapolitan*, Their *grand Seignieur*. The *Sorpego*, their *Gonfollinere*; The *Sciaticke*, Their great *Marshall*, that calls the Muster Rolle of them all together at every *Spring* and fall,—are all as familer to her as the *Cuckow* at *Canck-wood* in *May*; And the cure of⁴ them is the skill of every good old Ladies cast Gentlewoman; when she gives over painting, shee falls to plastering, and shall have as good practize as the best of them for those kind of diseases.

Marry, for Womens griefes⁵ amongst *Phisitions*, the *Masculine* is more worthy then the *Feminine*.

Secrecie is the cheife skill, and virilitie the best learning, that is required in a Womans *Phisition*. But I never read of many of those to be long liued, or honestly wiued hitherto, in all my reading.

Hitherto I speake nothing in disrepute of the more reverend and learned sort of *Phisitions*, who are to be had in singular reverence, and be vsefull to mankind next to the Divine. Indeed, I rather pittie them; and pitting, smile to see how pretily these young game-

¹ wrods in the Douce copy.

² axperiments in the Douce copy.

³ benefactor in the Art copy.

⁴ page 29.

⁵ greifes in the Douce copy.

sters, *Male* and *Female*, lay about them, and engrosse the greater part of *Patientrie* in all places wheresoeuer.

And here I may more fitly say (God knowes) how many mens liues this abused *opinion* had of such *Gamesters*, costs; Because they be not Masters of that *Mysterie*, and that science which requires the *Greeke* tongue exactly, all the learning and skill of *Philosophie*, *Historie* of all sorts (especially naturall), knowledge of all vegetatives and Minerals, and whatsoever dwels within the foure elements; Also Skill in *Astronomy*, *Astrologie*. And so much of the *Iudicialls* ¹vpⁿ all manner of *Calculations* as may be well warranted; with much other kind of learning, art, and skill, whereof my young travailing Phisition and trading wayting woman never heard.

Their meanes of Advancement are in these wayes, viz.

To be *Phisition* of some *Colledge* in one of the *Vniuersities*,
(as diuers *Colledges* have such places).

Phisition to the *King* or *Queenes* person.

Phisition to either of their *housholds*,

Or to some *Hospitall*, (as most have such).

Or to some *great persons* who may preferre them hereafter,
and be somewhat helpfull in the meane time.

To a good old *Vsurer*, or one that hath got his great estate
together vnconscionably: For they feare nothing but
death, and will buy life at any rate. There is no
coward to an ill Conscience.

It is not amisse to make way of acquaintance with Gallants given
to deepe drinking and surfeiting; For they are patients at all times
of the yeare.

Or a Gentlewoman that would faine vse the meanes to bee
pregnant.

Or your Lasciuous Lady, and your man in the *Perriwigge*, will
helpe to furnish with a foot-cloth.

²A Citizens wife of a weake stomacke will supply the fringe to it.

And if all faile, And the *Bathe* will affoord no roome; Let them
finde out some strange water, some unheard-of Spring. It is an
easie matter to discolour or alter the taste of it in some measure, (it

¹ page 30.

² page 31.

makes no matter how little.) Report strange cures that it hath done. Beget a Superstitious opinion in it, Goodfellowship shall uphold it, And the Neighbouring Townes shall all sweare for it.

The Apprentice follows.

THE first question is, to what Trade you will put your Son, and which is most worthy of choice. For the Merchant, it requireth great stocke, great experience in Forraine estates, And great hazard and adventure, at the best.

And this is not all : For it depends upon the Peace of our State with forraine Princes, especially those with whom we hold mutuall traffique ; Or, who lye in our way to intercept or impediment our Trade abroad. Besides that, in time of Warre, they can hold no certainty of dealing, or supplying their Factorie in parts beyond the Seas. Shipping is subject ever, at the let goe, to bee stayed, Marriners to be prest, and many other inconveniences attend them in such times ; Besides the burthen of Custome and Imposition which all ¹States impose more or lesse ; So that unlesse wee have peace with such Neighbours, there is little hope in that profession in the ordinarie and lawfull way of trading.

Happily you will alledge that some Merchants thrive well enough when the warres most rage, and when the streame of State is most troubled. Some then hold it to be the best fishing ; they that gaine then (Sir), if they gaine justifiably, gaine not as Merchants, but as men of Warre, which occupation a man may learne without serving seaven yeares Apprentiship unto it.

And if they gaine justifiably as Merchants, it must be in some generall stocke of a Society incorporated, who have purse to passe to and fro with sufficient power in the most dangerous times ; And if such Societies are tollerable at any time, it is at such times. How they be otherwise allowable, I leave to consideration.

For the Shopkeeper, his welfare, for the most part, depends upon the prosperity of the Merchant, For if the Merchant sit still, the most of them may shut up their shop windowes ; Little Skill, Art, or Mystery, shall a man learne in Shopkeeping. A man shall never

¹ page 32.

in forraigne parts, being put to his shifts out of his owne Meridian, live by the skill of weighing and measuring. The most use of advantage he can make of it, is to benefit betweene the Mart and the Market, than which nothing is more uncertaine, seeing there is no true judicall of the falling and rising of commodities, And the casualties that they are subject vnto, (especially) ¹in time of Warre.

Take this for a generall rule, that those Trades which aske most with an Apprentice, are incertainest of thriving, and require greatest stockes of setting up. Amongst Trades, give me those that have in them some Art, Craft, or Science, by which a man may live and be a welcome ghest to all Countries abroad, and have employment in the most stormy times at home, when Merchants and Shopkeepers are out of use, (as)—

An Apothecarie.

A Druggist.

A Chirurgion.

A Lapidarie.

A Jeweller.

A Printer.

An Ingraver in Stones and Mettall.

One that hath skill in seasoning of Shipwood.

A Carpenter of all sorts, especially of Shipping.

A Smith of all sorts, especially of Clockes, Watches, Guns, &c.

A Planter, and Gardner of all sorts.

An Enginere for making of Patars, and the like Engines of Warre. And

Hot Presses for Cloth, &c. And

Engines to weigh any Ship, or Guns that are drowned, &c.

Skrues, &c.

A maker of all sorts of Instruments for Navigation, Compasses, Globes, Astrolabes.

A Drainer of grounds Surmounded.

A Sale-maker, and

² *A maker of Cordage, Tackle, &c.*

A Lymner.

A Clothier, a Clothworker, and a Dyer.

¹ page 33.

² page 34.

*A Taylor, Shooe-maker, Glover, Perfumer, and Trimmer of
Gloves.*

An Imbroiderer.

A Feltmaker, a Glasier, and one that can paint in Glasse.

*Briefly, any Manufacture or trade, wherein is any Science
or Craft.*

Onely those Trades are of least use and benefit, which are called Huswives Trades (as *Brewer, Baker, Cooke*, and the like), Because they be the skill of Women as well as of men, and common to both.

I would have you know, that the Maker was before the Retaylor; and most Shopkeepers are but of a sublimated Trade, and retayle but as Attorneys to the maker. But if the Maker (without dispute of Freedome in any Corporation) might set up Shop and sell his commoditie immediately, it would be a great deale better for the Commonwealth than now it is.

Besides, it is no matter of difficultie, burthen, or disgrace, for a Shopkeeper, yea, a Merchant, or a Gentleman, to have the skill, of some one of these Manufactures, besides his Revenew, or profession, to accompany him what fortune soever may carry him into Countries unknowne.

To my knowledge, a great *Earle* lately of this Land, did thinke it no scorne to indeavour the attaining of the Craft and trade of a Farrior, wherein he grew excellent.

¹And when our acquaintance tooke first life with those of the Low Countries, upon a Treatie wherein our Ambassador strove to set forth the worthinesse of our King and Kingdome with the Native commodities thereof, The *Dutch* (ignorantly conceiving that no man could attaine to wealth without some good occupation or manufacture) askt him what handicraft our King was brought up unto, or what trade he had used to get so much wealth withall.

I admit the Merchant Royall that comes to his Profession by travaile and Factory, full fraught, and free adventure, to be a profession worthy the seeking. But not the hedge-creeper, that goes to seeke custome from shop to shop with a Cryll under his arme, That leapes from his Shop-boord to the Exchange, and after he is fame-falne and credit crackt in two or three other professions, shall wrigle

¹ page 35.

into this and that when he comes upon the Exchange, instead of enquiring after such a good ship, spends the whole houre in disputing, whether is the more profitable house-keeping, either with powder Beefe,¹ & brewes, or with fresh Beefe and Porridge; though (God wot) the blacke Pot at home be guilty of neyther: And so he departs when the Bell rings, and his guts rumble, both to one tune and the same purpose.

The Merchant Royall might grow prosperous, were it not for such poore patching interloping Lapwings that have an adventure of two Chaldron of Coles at New-castle; As much oyle in the *Greeneland* fishing as will serve two Coblers for ² the whole yeare ensuing. And an other at *Rowsie*, for as many Fox-skins as will furre his Long-lane gowne, when he is called to the Livorie.

The Shopkeeper is a cleanly Trade, especially your Linnen-Draper; which company hath the greatest Commonalty, and the largest priviledges of all other, and yet they maintaine nothing by Charter, for (indeed) they have none.

But a manufacture for my money, especially if he sell to the wearer immediately.

Now, for the better incouragement of men of Trade, Know that in most Companies of Tradesmen incorporate (especially in *London*), there is provision made by divers benefactors of their Societies deceased for the enabling and setting up of young beginners, by stockes of money remaining in the hands of some few of the chiefe of their Company (how faithfully disposed I leave to their owne consideration,) But surely the poorer sort complaine much of the mis-employment of it generally

There is but one little Crevis to peepe in at their dealings, And that is betweene their Masters conscience & the Clarks connivence, which is so narrow, that you may sooner discern the South Pole through the maine Center, than discover their mysterie.

Indeed, in times past, the Clearkship of the Company hath beene bestowed upon some ancient decayed member of the Company for his livelyhood. But the Attorney and Scrivener, and some petty Clarkes of the Citie, by the Letters of, &c. pre-occupy those places.

³ And here I could wish, for righting of the dead, and releiving

¹ Salt beef.

² page 36

³ page 37.

of the poorer members of such Companies who are kept in ignorance, That some paines were taken in the *Prerogative* Office, for the collating of all guifts of this nature, to be publisht in print, that the meanest might thereby be able to call their Grand Masters to account, if they abuse the trust in them repositied in this behalfe. I acknowledge the youth of mine age to be determined, And (God knowes) how poore a remaine of life is left in my Glasse; yet if it may please those in whom the power resteth to give me leave to search (*Gratis*) for all Grants and guifts of pious use in all kindes whatsoever, I could willingly bestow that little of my Lampe in collection of these things, and publish them to posterity. Provided alwayes, that I and mine may have the priviledge of imprinting the same for some fitting number of yeares to come

The Navigator

NExt to the man of Trade, or rather equally with him, I must give the *Navigator* his due, for that his profession is as full of science, as usefull to the Common wealth, and as profitable to himselfe, as any trade whatsoever. If he attaine the skill of knowing, and handling the tackle, the certaine art of his Compasse; the knowledge of languages, and dispositions of forreigne Nations where ¹ he travailes and trades, he may rise from a Squabler to a Master, from a Master to be a Generall, honestly, and with good reputation, in a short time.

The Nauigator his way of Advancement
and imployment is, by

The Lords of his Maiesties privie Councell,
The High Admirall,
Commissioners for the Kings Navy,
Chiefe Officers of the Navyes of Societies,
incorporate,
Private Merchants and the like,
With the *Trinitie* house.

But if he get to be an Owner, he may trade as free as bird in ayre,

¹ page 38.

as a man of warre, or a man of trade and Commerce. If he take heed that he intrench not vpon the incorporated Companies, especially the *minotaur*. He cannot do amisse (with Gods assistance ¹). He may liue merrily and contentedly, be it but in trading as a meere Carryer of home commodities, Imported from one port to another within the kingdome.

The Husbandman.

THE Husbandman may likewise for the happie content of the life, and the honest gaine which it brings with it, be worthy to inuite a right good mans sonne to vndergoe the profession.

Your sonne whom you intend for a *Husbandman*, ² must be of a disposition part gentile and rusticke, equally mixt together. For if the Gentleman be predominant, his running Nagge will out run the *Constable*. His extraordinary strong Beere will be too headstrong in office of *Church-Warden*. And his well mouthed dogges will make him out-mouth all the Vestrie. But if the clowne be predominant, he will smell all browne bread and garlicke. Besides, he must be of a hardier temper than the rest of his brethren, because the vnhealth-fullest corners of the Kingdome are the most profitable for Fermors. He must especially aime at a Tenancie vnder the *Crowne*, or some *Bishops Sea*, *Deane*, and *Chapter*, some *Colledge*, some *Companie*, some *Hospitall*, or some other bodie incorporate. Wherein the *Auditor* or *Receiver* must be his best Intelligencer and Director. Young vnthrifts acquaintance, when they first arriue at the age of one and twentie, And good old conscionable Landlords, that hold it a deadly sinne to raise the rents of their Grandfathers, or hope to be deliuered out of Purgatorie by their Tenants prayers, will doe well.

These professions before mentioned, be (as it were) the orbs to receiue all fixed starrs, and such dispositions as may be put into any certaine frame.

But for a more libertine disposition.

Fit it with the profession of a *Courtier*.

For an overflowing, and Ranker disposition, make him a *Souldier*.

¹ assistnace in orig:

² page 39.

But, beyond this, he is a lost man, not worthy a fathers remembrance or prouidence.

*¹The Courtiers wayes of advancement
be these :*

BY the generall and most ancient rule of Court, if you would have him to be preferred unto the Kings service in the end, And, in the meane time, to have sufficient meanes of maintenance, Place him with one of the *White Staves* of the Houshold.

By the more particular rule (if you can), put him unto the Lord High Steward his Service (who, amongst the white Staves), hath the chiefeest hand in preferring to any office beneath stayres.

If the High Steward be full, seeke to the Lord Chamberlaine, who hath the chiefe power to preferre to the places above stayres, and to the Wardrobe.

And, if there be no entrance there, then seek to the Treasurer of the Houshold, and next to the Contrallor. The Master of the Houshold. The Coferer, and the rest of the greene Cloth.

The Master of the Horse preferres to the Avenanarie and other Clarkeships offices, and places about the Stable.

The principall Secretary hath heretofore had a great hand in preferring to the Clarkeships in the office of the *Signet*, and the Lord privie Seale into the privie Seale office.

The Master of the great Wardrobe into the Clarkeships and offices there. The Master of the Robes. The Master of the Jewell-house. The Keeper of the privie Purse. The Master of the Toyles² and Tents, with some other the like, have whilome beene the meanes of preferring divers their followers into the service of the King, in divers beneficiall places and Clarkeships, in their severall offices respectively.

The Lord *Treasurer* without the house, preferres to his Majesties service, in most places in, or about the Custome-houses, in all the parts of *England*.

And, besides these, I finde no meanes used of old, for preferment into the Kings service, for these kind of places.

¹ page 40.

² page 41.

The yeomen of the Guard were wont to come in, for their personage, and activitie, by their Captaines allowance.

And the Bed-chamber mens servants, ever were in way to be preferred for Pages of the privie Chamber, or Groomes, or placed at the back staires, not of right, but of custome.

For the Clarkes of the Houshold, they were wont aunciently to rise by certaine degrees, according to the prescription of the *Black Booke*; but how it is now, I know not.

For your better satisfaction of Court Offices, their order and Fee, Search the *Blacke Booke* in the *Exchequer*, and in the Court; And for all Offices whatsoever under the King throughout the whole Kingdome, Either in *Castle, Parke, Chase, Court*, or *house* of the Kings royalty or place soever, with the then Fees of the same, I referre you to a booke, Whereof many hundred Copies are extant, which was collected by the Lord *Treasurer Burleigh*, and ¹by him delivered to the late Queene *Elizabeth* of famous memorie. And so much for the *Courtier*.

The Souldier followes.

And the question is first.

Whether the better way of thriving is to be a Sea Soldier, or a Land Soldier?

Questionlesse, the better way of thriving is to be a Sea Soldier, In this Kingdome of *England*, being an Island, for that he is more vsefull to his Country. More learning is required to be a Sea Soldier than to be a Land Soldier. A Sea Soldier is certaine of victuals and wages, where the Land Soldiers pay will hardly find him sustenance. A Sea Soldier may now and than chauce to haue a snapp at a bootie or a price, which may in an instant make him a fortune for ever, where the Land Soldier may in an age come to the ransacking of a poore fisher Towne at the most.

More valour is required in a Sea Soldier than in a Land Soldier; because the extremitie of the place requires it. The Sea Captaine is exposed to as much danger during the whole fight as the poorest

¹ page 42.

man in the Ship; where the land Captaine vseth but to offer his men to the face of the enemy, and than retreateth.

The way to rise to preferment at Sea, is by the *Admiralls* Countenance, and the *Vice Admiralls* in the Kings service, or in other service by the favour of great traded Merchants, and especially of your ¹bodies incorporate, and their chiefe Officers: and more especially their President and Treasurer for the time being.

His breeding is a matter of more moment than his age regardeth.

If he be true bred, he should be first made a perfect Navigator, able to direct the Sterage of their course, able to know the tackle, and appoint every Saylor to his charge. He should know what number of Saylor, what Ordinance, and what munition, should be requisite for a Ship of such a burden.

He should be a skilfull *Caneere*, and able to direct the *Gunner*², to say what quantity of powder a *Peece* of such bore and³ depth requireth, and of what weight the bullet should be where such a quantity of powder is vsed, whether the *Peece* be sound or hony-combed. He should be able to know and direct what quantity of victuall should be required for so many men for such a voyage, And what quantity of powder and shot.

Also to ouersee and direct the *Purser* and *Steward* in the expence of their victuall without profusenesse, or too much percemonie.

Likewise skilfull in all manner of Fire-workes, and fitting Engines for sea fight.

Briefly, he should be so compleat, as that none should be able to teach him in his place, and he skilfull to controule every other in their places. He should be courteous and louing to his men; Above all things, he should be zealous of the honour of God. See that the divine service be duely read on board Evening and Morning, and that swearing be severely punished. A Sea Captaine is not a place for a young ⁴man to leape into instantly, and immediately out of a Ladies Vshership, a Great mans bed chamber, or a *Littletons* discipleship.

It is not your feathered Gallant of the Court, nor your Tauerne Roarer of the Citie, becomes this place, I assure you.

I find not any *Meson de dieu* for relieving of mayned Marriners

¹ page 43.

² Gnnner in orig.

³ ond in orig.

⁴ page 44.

only, but that erected at *Chattam* by Sir *Iohn Hawkins* Knight, Treasurer of the Navie of the late *Q. Elizabeth*, wherein it was provided that there should be a deduction of Sixpence by the Moneth, out of every man and boy their wages in every voyage towards the same, Which I could wish were aswell imployed as collected.

The Land-Souldier follows.

IF the Land-Souldier thinke to thrive and rise by degrees of service, from a Common Souldier to a Captaine, in this age, (alas) hee is much deceived.

That custome is obsolete, and growne out of use. Doe what he can doe in Land-service, hee shall hardly rise by his single merit.

His happinesse shall be but to fill his hungry belly, and Satiare himselfe upon a Pay day.

But if hee be of Kinne, or a favourite to some great Officer, hee may carry the Colours the first day, bee a *Lieutenant* the second, and a Captaine before he knowes how many dayes goe to the weeke in their Regiment.

The Land-service, where a man may learne most experience of Warre discipline, is in the *Low-Countries*,¹ by reason of the long exercise of Warres and variety of Stratagems there.

Beyond that, Northward, the service is both more unprofitable and more dangerous, and lesse experience is to be there learned.

The more your Sonne turnes his face to the South, the more profitable the Land-service is.

Lastly, if hee have no friend or kindred to raise him in the Land-service, I assure you that there is no Law against buying and selling of Offices in the *Low-Countries*, for ought that I have read; Neither is it markable amongst them.

After the Souldier returnes home, it makes no matter what number of wounds hee can reckon about him.

All the wayes of reliefe for him that I can number are these :

A poore Knights place of *Windsor* ; If the Herald report him a Gentleman, And the Knights of the Honourable Order of the *Garter* will accept him.

¹ page 45.

A Brother of *Suttons* Hospital; If the Feoffees have not
 Servants of their owne to preferre before him.
 A Pensioner of the County; If the *Iustices* find him worthy,
 And that hee was prest forth of the same County.
 Saint *Thomas* in *Southwarke*, and St. *Bartholmews*, *Smith-*
field, onely till their wounds or diseases be cured, and
 no longer; And that if the Masters of the sayd Hospitals
 please to receive them.

For the *Savoy*, where Souldiers had a foundation, I know none
 now.

¹And other Houses appropriated for reliefe of Souldiers, now in
 use, I remember none.

For the chiefe are long since demolished, The *Templarij* are gone,
 The Knights of St. *John* of *Ierusalem* forgotten, That famous
 House upon *Lincolne greene* is rac'd to the ground, And many the like,
 now better knowne by the *Records* than the remaines of their ruines,
 with their Revenue, are all diverted from the uses of their first
 foundation to private and peculiar Inheritances, which I pity more
 than the dissolution of all the Monasteries that ever were.

Heere, you see, is preferment enough for your sixe Sonnes, though
 you bestow every one upon a severall Profession; Onely take this
 generall Rule for all, *viz.*

To what course soever your sonnes shall betake them, Bee sure
 that they all have *Grammar* learning at the least, So shall they bee
 able to receive and reteyne the impression of any the said Professions.
 And otherwise, shall scarce possibly become Masters in the same, or
 any one of them; Or if they doe, It will bee with more than ordinary
 paines and difficulty.

Your three Daughters challenge the next place.

For theyr Portions I shewed you before, how and when to raise
 them; That is, by the Marriage of your eldest Sonnie, or out of
 that part of your personall estate which you may spare without pre-
 judice of your selfe.

¹For their breeding.

I would have their breeding like to the *Dutch Womans* clothing, tending to profit onely and comelinesse.

Though she never have a dancing Schoole-Master, A French Tutor, nor a Scotch Taylor to make her shoulders of the breadth of *Bristow* Cowsway, It makes no matter, For working in curious *Italian* purles, or *French* borders, it is not worth the while. Let them learne plaine workes of all kind, so they take heed of too open seaming. In stead of Song and Musicke, let them learne Cookery and Laundrie. And in stead of reading Sir *Philip Sidneys Arcadia*, let them read the grounds of good huswifery. I like not a female Poetresse at any hand. Let greater personages glory their skill in musicke, the posture of their bodies, their knowledge in languages, the greatnesse and freedome of their spirits, and their arts in arreinuing of mens affections at their flattering faces: This is not the way to breed a private Gentlemans Daughter.

If the mother of them be a good Huswife, and Religiously disposed, let her have the bringing up of one of them. Place the other two forth betimes, and before they can judge of a good manly leg.

The one in the house of some good Merchant, or Citizen of civill and Religious government, The other in the house of some Lawyer, some Iudge, or well reported Iustice or Gentleman of the Country, where the Servingman is not too predominant. In any of these she may learne what belongs to her improvement, for *Sempstrie*, for Confectionary, and all requisits of Huswifery. She shall be sure to be restrained of all ranke company and unfitting libertie, which ²are the overthrow of too many of their Sexe.

There is a pretty way of breeding young Maides in an Exchange shop, or *St. Martins le grand*; But many of them get such a foolish Crick with carrying the Bandbox under their Apron to Gentlemens Chambers, that in the end it is hard to distinguish whether it be their belly or their bandbox makes such a goodly show.

And in a trade where a woman is sole Chapman, she claimes such a preheminence over her husband, that she will not be held to give him an account of her dealings, eyther in retaile, or whole saile at any rate.

¹ page 47.

² page 48.

The Merchants Factor and Citizens servant of the better sort, cannot disparage your Daughters with their Societie.

And the *Judges, Lawyers, and Iustices* followers, are not ordinary Servingmen, but men of good breed, and their education for the most part *Clarkely*, whose service promiseth their farther and future advancement.

Your Daughter at home will make a good wife for some good Yeomans eldest Sonne, whose father will be glad to crowne his sweating frugality with alliance to such a house of Gentry.

The youngmans fingers will itch to be handling of Taffata; and to be placed at the Table, and to be carved unto by *Mistris Dorotheie*, it will make him and the good plaine old *Ione* his Mother to passe over all respect of Portion or Patrimony.

For your Daughter at the Merchants, and her sister, if they can carry it wittily, the City affords them varietie.

¹The young Factor being fancy-caught in his dayes of Innocency, & before he travaile so farre into experience as into forreigne Countries, may lay such a foundation of first love in her bosome, as no alteration of Climate can alter.

So likewise may *Thomas* the fore-man of the Shop, when beard comes to him, as Apprentiship goes from him, be intangled and belymed with the like springs, For the better is as easily surprized as the worse.

Some of your *Clarkly* men complaine the moysture of their palmes; Others the *Sorpego* in their wrists: both moving meanes.

With a little patience your daughter may light upom some Counsailor at Law, who may be willing to take the young Wench, in hope of favour with the old *Iudge*. An Attorney will be glad to give all his profits of a *Michaelmas Terme*, Fees and all, but to wooe her through a Crevice. And the Parson of the Parish, being her Ladies Chaplaine, will forswear eating of Tithe Pig for a whole yeare, for such a parcell of *Glebe* Land at all times.

And so much for your Sonnes and Daughters.

I now espy mine Host of the Bull here in *Saint Albans*, standing at his doore upon his left leg, like to the old Drummer of Parish²-garden, ready to entertaine us.

¹ page 49.

² for Paris (*MS. note*).

Therefore I will here conclude with that of the Poet,

—————*Navibus atque*
Quadraxis petimus benevivere, quod petis hic est,
Est Anglis, animus si te, non deficit equus.

F I N I S .

¹ LONDON,

Printed by B. ALSOP and T. FAVVCET for

Ben : Fisher, and are to bee sold at his Shop

at the signe of the *Talkot* in *Alders-*

gate-street. 1631.

-
- [Cuttings from Booksellers' Catalogues, in the *Douce* copy :
1629. Powell (Thomas), Tom of all Trades. *Rare and Extremely*
Curious, 2l. 2s.
681. Do. *neat, very scarce*, 10s. 6d.
A copy of this uncommon Tract is priced 4l. 14s. 6d.
in Ford's Catalogue.]

¹ page 50.



THE GLASSE

of godly Loue.

Wherin all married couples
may learne their duties, each toward o-
thers, according to the holy Scriptures :

*Verye necessary for all married
men and women, that feare the Lorde,
& loue his labors, to haue it in their
Bedchambers, daily to looke in : whereby
they may know, and do their duties each vnto
others, and leade a godly, quiet, and
louing life togeathers, to the glory of
God, and the good example of their
Christian Bretheren.*

Iames .1. See that ye be not only hearers of the
worde, but also doers, leaft that therby yee
deceauue your felues.

Coloffians .3. Aboue all thinges put on Loue,
which is the band of perfection.





'To all Chriftian men and wo-
men that are maryed.

I*Orasmuch as the Diuel is moſt ready to make* ſtrife, where there ought to bee moſt loue; and hath, with heddy wilfulneſſe, concupiſcence, and ignorance, ſo blinded the hartes of thoſe which liue vnder the yoke of Matrimony, that (as I may iudge by their fruites) there be very few that leade their lyues therein according to the lawes of Chriſte:— Therefore, (my deare & welbeloued Chriftians, which profeſſe the Goſpell) to the intent that you ſhould liue therin, according to your profeſſion and knowledge, I haue here breefely and plainly ſet forth what it is, and how you ought to leade your lyues therin, accordinge to the Rules of the holy Scriptures, ſo that your pure and godly lyfe may bee a good example, and alſo make ſuch aſhamed as would ſclaunder the holy Goſpell, and profeſſours of the ſame; yea, and that their wonted worde (which is, 'marke theſe new men by their lyuinge') may found to Gods glory, to the honour of his moſt holy worde, and praife of al them in Chriſt which do profeſſe the ſame. Farewell in the Lorde.

¹ page 76.

[*This Glasse of Godly Love forms pages 75—87 of my imperfect copy of a tract, ſtated by Mr W. C. Hazlitt to be unique, entitled The Schoole of honeſt and vertuous lyfe: Profitable and neceſſary for all eſtates and degrees, to be trayned in: but (cheefely) for the pettie Schollers, the yonger ſorte, of both kindes, bee they men or Women. by T. P. [Thomas Pritchard]. No date. The tract contains, p. 47—74, Alſo, a laudable and learned Diſcourſe, of the worthineſſe of honorable Wedlocke, written in the behalfe of all (aſwell) Maydes as Wydowes, (generally) for their ſinguler inſtruction, to chooſe them vertuous and honeſt Huſbandes: But (moſt ſpecially) ſent written as a Jewell vnto a worthy Gentlewoman, in the time of her widowhood, to direct & guide her in the new election of her ſeconde Huſband. By her approoued freend and kinſeman, I. R. [John Rogers]. Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, and are to be ſolde at his ſhop ouer againſt S. Sepulchers Church without Newgate. [1569.] 4to, black Letter, A.—L. in fours. Hazlitt.]*

¹*What Wedlocke is.*



You shall first vnderstande, that Wedlocke is an hie and blessed order, ordained of God in Paradise; which hath euer bin had in great honor and reuerence, wher[i]n one man and one woman are coupled and knit togeather in one fleshe and body, in the feare and loue of God, by the free, louing, hartie, and good consent of them both, to the intente that they two may dwel togeather, as one flesh and bodye, of one will and minde, in all godlynesse, most louingly to helpe and comfort one another, to bring forth children, and to instruct them in the lawes of God. Also, to auoyde Fornication and all vncleanenesse, and so in all honesty, vertue, and godlynesse, to spend their liues in the equall partakinge of all such thinges as God shall send them, with thankes gyuinge.

And, because that the Wife is in subiection to her Husband, I will begin with her, & shortly declare what dutie and obedience shee oweth vnto him, by the commaundementes of the Scriptures.

Ephe. 5. The duetie of the Wife to her Husband.

SAynct Pawle sayth: *Yee Wiues, submit your selues to your owne Husbandes, as to the Lorde; for the Husband is the Wiues head, as Christ is the head of the Congregation: Therefore, as the Congregation is in subiection vnto Christe, likewise let Wiues be in subiection to their Husbandes in al thinges.* So that the wife must bee obediente vnto her husband, as vnto Christ himselfe; whereout it foloweth, that the faide obedience extendeth not vnto any wickednesse or euill, but vnto that which is good, honest, and cumly. In asmuch as God delighteth onely in goodnes, & forbiddeth the euill euery where, it foloweth also, that the disobedience that a wife sheweth to hir Husband displeaseth God no lesse then when he is disobeyed himself. For the wife ought to obey hir husband in all pointes, as ²the Congregation

¹ page 77.

² page 78.

to Chrifte, which loueth Christ onely; and aboue all things, shee is glad and willinge to suffer for Christes sake, shee doth all for the loue of him; Chrifte only is her comfort, ioy, and all togeathers; vpon Chrifte is hir thought daye and night; shee longeth onely after Christ, for Christes sake (if it may serue to his glory) shee is hartely well contented to die, yee, shee giueth ouer her selfe wholly therto, for Christes loue, knowing assuredly that hir foule, hir honour, body, lyfe, and all that she hath, is Christes owne. Thus also must euery honest Wife submit hir self, to please hir Husband with all hir power, and giue hir selfe freely and willingly, to loue him and obey him, and neuer to forsake him till the houre of death.

And farther (sayth S. Peter :) *Let the Wiues be in subiection to their Husbantes, that euen they which beleue not the worde, may without the worde be wonne by the conuersation of the Wiues; while they beholde your pure conuersation coupled with feare; whose apparrell shall not bee outward with bredred haire, and hanging on of Golde, either in putting on of gorgious apparrell; but let the hid man of the harte bee vncorrupt, with a meeke and quiet spirit, which spirit is before God much set by, for after this manner in the olde time did the holy Women which trusted in God tire themselues, and were obedient to their Husbantes; euen as Sara obeyed Abraham, and called him hir Lorde; whose Daughters ye are as long as ye do well.*

And Paule, speaking vnto Tytus (sayth hee): *Let the elder Women be in such apparrell as becommeth holiness, not beeing false accusers; not giuen to much Wine, but that they teache honest things to make the young Women sober minded, to loue their Husbantes, to loue their Children, to be discrete, chaste, huswifely, good, obedient vnto their Husbantes, that the worde of God be not euill spoken of.*

What a Wife ought to bee.

HERE may you learne, that a Wife ought to be discret, chaste, huswifely, shamefast, good, meeke, patient, and ¹sober; not light in countenance, nor garishe in apparrell, with dyed or curled haire, painted nor pafed, but with a cumly grautie and a sad behauour of a constant minde, true tongued, and of few wordes, with such obedience in all godlynesse to her Husbände and head, as it befeemes

a Christian to haue vnto Christ; and to the intente that the Husband in like case may learne his ductie, let him harken what *Sainct Pawle* sayth, and take heede that hee turne not his authoritie to tyranny.

The dutie of the Husband to his Wyfe.

Husbands, loue your Wiues (sayth hee), as *Christ* loued the Congregation, and gaue him selfe to sanctifie it.

Now must you vnderstande, that the Husbände is the Wiues head, as *Christe* is the head of the congregation; and *Christ* sheweth to the congregation the same thinge that the head sheweth to the bodye; for like as the head seeth and heareth for the whole body, studieth and deuifeth for to preferue it in strength and life, euen so doth *Christe* defend, teach, and preferue his congregation. For hee is the eye, hart, wisdome, and guide therof; so ought Husbände (then) to loue their wiues, & be their heads in like manner to shew them like kindenesse, and after the same fashion to guide them and rule them with discretion; for their preferuacion, & not with force or wilfulnesse to intreat them. And *S. Pawle* saith farther: *So ought men to loue their wiues, as their owne bodies; he that loueth his wife loueth himself. For no man hath at any time hated his owne flesh, but doth nourish and cherish it, euen as the Lorde doth the Congregation.* Therefore ought euery man most feruently to loue his wife, equally with himselfe in al pointes; for this is the measure of mutuall loue Matrimoniall, that either partie haue nothing so deare that they can not be contented to bestow one vpon another; ye, and if neede should be, they should also not spare their owne liues one for another, no more then *christ* did for his congregation.

¹And like as when we repent and beleuee in the promise of God in *Christ*, (though we were neuer so poore sinners), are as rich as *Christ*, & al merites ours; so is a Woman (though she were neuer so poore afore she was married) as rich as hir husband, for all that he hath is hers, ye, his owne bodye, and [she] hath power ouer it, as saith *Sainct Pawle*.

And if it so chaunce that you finde not your wife so perfect in al pointes as you would, or as your selfe; yet must you not dispise hir, nor bee bitteer nor cruell vnto hir for hir faultes, but gently and

louingly seeke to amend and win hir. For, like as Christe thought no scorne of his church, dispised hir not, neither forfooke hir for hir vn-cleaneenes and finnes; so should no christian man spurne at his wife, nor set light by hir, because that sometime she falleth, offendeth, or goeth not right; but euen as Christ nourisheth and teacheth his church, so ought euery honest husbände (also) louingly and gently to informe & instruct his wife.

For in many things (saith *S. Peter*) God hath made the men stronger then the women, not to rage vpon them & to be tirantes vnto them, but to helpe them & beare their weakenesse. Bee curteous therfore, (saith hee,) and win them to Christ, and ouercome them with kindenesse, that of loue they may obey the ordinance that God made betweene man and Wife.

Oh how ashamed be those men to loke vpon this texte, which with violence in their furye will intreate their wiues; no beast so beastly, for in the most cruellst way is not mete, as when the wife is sad and disquieted, then with spiteful wordes and wanton fashions, so prouoking hir to anger. Where it is not the dutie of the husband, but rather ashamed to his owne head; likewise it is worship for a man to haue the feare of the Lorde before his eyes, that he prouoke not the plague of vengeance.

Let vs therfore haue humilitie in our hartes; For, as a wise man loketh well to his owne goinges, euen so pleasant are the wordes spoken in due season, which moueth the woman in hir wrath vnto patience, whereof *Salamon* ¹sayth: *Faire wordes are an Hony Combe, a refreshing of the minde, and a health of the bones.* For it is feldome seene that any beast is found in the cruellst rage, that the Male doth euer hurte his Female; and how vnnatural a thing is it for a man to hurt his owne flesh and body! Who will violently reuenge himselfe, yea, on his foote, if it chaunce to stumble, but wil not rather, if hee haue an yll bodye, cherish it to make it better?

The strong (saith *S. Pawle*) ought to beare the frailenesse of the weake; let one suffer with another; beare ye one an others burden, and so shall ye fulfill the lawes of Christ: and aboue all thinge (sayth *S. Peter*), Haue feruent loue amongst you, for loue couereth the multitude of faultes. So that loue in all things and at all times ought to bee the

whole doore and only instrument to worke and frame all things betweene man and wife.

What the Husband ought to bee.

BY all this may yce geather and learne that the man is the head, gouvernour, ruler, & instructer (with gentil wordes and good example), the prouyder, defender, and whole comforte of the woman, and oweth vnto hyr most feruent loue and affection, all gentle behauiour, all faythfulnes and helpe, all comforte and kindenesse, as to him selfe, his owne flesh and body; so that vnder God there is no loue, no affection, no freendship, no nerenes of kin, to be compared vnto this, nor any one thing vnder the Sun, that pleaseth God more then man and wife that agree well togethers, which liue in the feare of God. And how can that bee more liuely expressed, then in that, that Iesus Christ the Sonne of God, and the holy christian Church, and the holy body of them both, are set forth for an example or Mirror of the state of Wedlocke, or coniugall loue? a more holy, a more godly and purer example could not be shewed. Undoubtedly this doth plainly shew, that loue Matrimoniall is most highly accepted afore God; and the ¹contrary must needs folow, *that vnquietnes, hatred, strife, brawling, chiding, and frowardnes in Mariage, doth exceedingly displease God, & is clearely forbidden by Saint Pawle, where hee sayth: Let all bitternesse, fiercenesse, and wrath, roaringe, and cursed speaking, be put away from you: be ye curteous and louinge one to another, and merciful, forgeuing one another, euen as God for Christes sake forgaue you.* Surely it is an highe and pure loue, perfecte and constant, that God requireth to be betweene maryed couples, and therefore ought they by all wayes, meanes, and labour to get, maintaine, and increafe this exceding loue, and to eschue, forbear, and cut of all things, that might occasion any parte of the contrary.

What maintaineth loue and quietnesse in Mariage.

AND vndoubtedly there is nothing that longer maintaineth concord and quietnes, nor more increaseth perfecte loue in Maryage, then sweet and faire wordes, gentle and frendly deedes, and with a louing patience to take all things to the best. Freely to breake

¹ page 82.

their mindes togeathers, and al things to be kept secret, both¹ glad and willing to amend that is amisse, and aboue all thinge, not once one to heare yl of another, for *S. Pawle* warneth you that ye gine no place to the backbiters, but take them as yll willers to you both, though that they be neuer so nere freendes or kin. And God sayth, *A man shall forsake Father and Mother, and cleaue vnto his Wife, and they two shalbe one flesh, which in like case is mente to the Woman.* Therefore ought no creature aliuie to be in such esteemation, credit, fauour, and loue, as each of you with others. Also, to bee of a sober and temperate dyet, doth much farther a good agreement; and where the contrary is, there is much vnquietnesse. For *Salomon* askinge where is woe? where is strife? where is brawling? euen amongst those (saith hee) that bee euer at the Wine; therefore it is most cumly for christians to be temperate in dyet, tempe²rate in wordes, temperate in deedes, and temperate in all things, so that at all times ye eschue al excesse and surfet, rage and fury, which makes no difference betwixt man and beaft, and all other things which may breed any part of vnquietnesse. For *Salomon* sayth: *Better is a dry morsell with quietnesse, then a full house, and many fat cattell with strife.* Therefore ought yee to exteeme and imbrace this concord and quietnesse, as the maintainer and onely vpholder of the whole felicitie in Mariage, which is engendred of feruent loue, faithfulnessse, and kindenesse, and maintained by the same, wherein ye ought continually to walke in all chaftenes and purenes of liuing, which (assuredly) shineth as a most precious thinge in the sight of God, and in the commendacion of the same, sayth:

The commendacion of Chastitie.

S*alomon* in the Booke of *Wisedome*: O faire is a chaste generacion with vertue, for it is with good men, where it is present, men take example therat, and if it go away, yet they desire it; it is alwayes crowned and holden in honour, and winneth the reward of the vndefiled Battel; but the multitude of vngodly Children are vnprofitable, and the things that are planted in whoredome shall take no deepe roote, nor lay any fast foundation; though they be greene in the braunches for a time, yet shall they be shaken with the winde, for they stand not fast, and through the vehemency of the winde they

¹ orig. doth

² page 83.

shal bee rooted out, for the vnprofitable braunches shall bee broken, their fruite shalbe vnprofitable & sower to eate, yee, meet for nothing; and why? all the children of the wicked must beare recorde of the wickednesse of their Fathers and Mothers, when they be asked, but t[h]o the rightuous bee ouer taken with death, yet shall hee be in rest.

Here may you see how vile, filthy, and abhominable, Adultery, Fornication, and Bastardy is, and how high in estimation a chaste life is amongst all good and godly ¹folke, and especially in the sight of God, to whom no secret sinne is hid.

*That marryed folke ought to haue chaste manners
and communication.*

ANd as a chaste louinge life in Mariage is most commended, so ought ye to be of chaste manners, to haue chaste talke, and to eschue all wanton fashions, vnclenly communication, filthy handling, and all vnseemlynesse, and to be the speakers and very doores of all vertue and godlinesse, for *Sainct Pawle* sayth: *Be ye folowers of God as deare Children, and walke in loue, euen as Christ loued you, and gaue himselfe for vs an offering, and a sacrifice of sweete sauour to God, so that fornication and all vncleanenesse, or couetousnesse, bee not once named amongst you, as becommeth Saincts, neither filthy nor foolish talke, neither iesting, which are not cumly, but rather giuinge of thanks: for this ye know, that whoremongers, eyther vncleane persons, or couetous persons, which is the worshippers of Images, shall haue any entrance in the kingdome of God and of Christe.*

Of temperance in Maryage.

ALso, there ought to be a temperance betweene man & wife, for God hath ordained mariage for a remedy or medecine, to aswage the heate of the burninge flesh, and for procreation, and not beaftly for to fulfill the whole lustes of the diuelish minde and wicked flesh; for, though ye haue a promise that the acte in mariage is no sinne, if the man receaue his Wife as a giifte giuen to him of God, and the Wife her Husbände in like case, as ye haue a promise that yee sinne not when yee eate and drinke measurably with thanks giuinge,

yet if yee take exceſſe, or uſe it beaſtly, vilely, or inordinately, your miſtemperance make[s] that yll which is good, (beeinge rightly vſed, and that which is cleane, yee defile through your abuſinge ¹ of it: *God hath not called you to vncleaneneſſe, but vnto holyneneſſe, ſayth S. Pawle*): and farther (ſayth hee), *It is the will of God, euen that you ſhould bee holye, and that every one of you ſhould know how to keepe his veſſell in holynes and honour, and not in the luſtes of concupiſcence, as do the Heathen which know not God.*

Alſo, *Sainct Pawle* willeth you that yee withdraw not your ſelues, nor departe not one from another, except it bee with the good conſente of bothe, for a time to faſte and to pray; which faſtinge and prayer, I would to God were more vſed then it is, not as Hipocrites were wont, but as Chriſtians ought, and are commaunded (almoſt) in euery parte of the Scriptures; for they that in eating and drinkinge fulfill the whole luſtes of the fleſhe, cannot worke after the ſpirite; and as wee daylie and hourelly continually ſinne, ſo ought wee continually to praye and call for grace. And in all the whole Byble, you ſhal not finde a more godly example of maryage (which I would to God all maryed folkes would reade), then that of *Tobiach and Sara*, the Daughter of *Raguell*, which were knit togeather in faſtinge and prayer, and oft vſed the ſame, lyuinge a godly, pure, and cleane lyfe; for the which they obtayned the bleſſinge of God, and ſaw their Childerns Children to the fift generation.

The commendacion of Children.

CHildren (vndoubtedly) is the higheſt giſt, and greateſt treaſure of this worlde, and maintenaunce of the ſame. For Children is the very ſure band and laſt knot of loue Matrimonial; by the which the parents can neuer be clearely ſeperated a funder; In aſmuch as that which is of them both cannot be deuided, ſeeing both haue parte in euery one. And children are their Parents cheefe ioy, comfort, and felicitie next vnto God; their ſtay and ſtaffe & vpholders of their age; and in their children do the Parents liue (in a manner) after their death. For they dye not all togethers, *that* leaue collops of their owne fleſh aliue ² behinde them; and by their children (if they be ver-
tuouſly and godly brought vp) then is God honoured, & the common

¹ page 85.

² page 86.

wealth aduanced, so that the parents and all men fare the better by them. Your children (most assuredly) is the very blessing of god, for the which ye ought to giue him most hartie thanks, and be contented, and with such as hee doth sende you, bee they many or few, Sonnes or Daughters. For if they be many, he wil prouide for them if they be faithfull. If they be few, he may send you more, and giue you more ioy of one daughter then of ten sonnes. Therefore, be content with his will, for hee doth all things for the best, and knoweth what is beste for you; giue him most hartie thanks for such as you haue, and be diligent to see them vertuously and godly brought vp; and in any case, suffer them not to bee ydell.

How children ought to bee brought vp.

FOr they that wil not worke (saith *S. Pawle*), let them not eate; therefore put them to learne some honest Science or Crafte, wherunto of nature they be most apt. For in that shal they most profite; in the which they may get their owne lyuinge, and serue the common wealth. And aboue al thing, let them first learne to know God & his most holy worde, which is the right pathe and highe way to all vertue and godlineffe, the sure Shielde and stronge Buckler to defende vs from the Diuell and all his cruell and craftie affaultes; giue them daily godly and louinge exhortacions, suffer no vice to take roote in them, but rebuke them for their yll, and commend them in their well dooinge.

Prouide honestly afore hand for all necessary thinges, both for them and all your household. For, saith *S. Pawle* to *Timothie*: If there bee any that prouideth not for his owne, and, namely, for them of his householde, the same denyeth the sayth, and is worse then an Infidell.

¹*The order of your house.*

OF the Sparrowes may yee learne the order of your household: for as the Cocke flyeth too and fro to bring all thinge to the neaft, and as the dam keepeth the neaft, hatcheth and bringeth foorth hir yonge, so all prouision, and whatfoeuer is to bee doone without the house, belongeth to the man; and the woman to take charge within, to see all thinges conueniently faued, or spent as it ought, to bring

¹ page 87.

forth and nourish hir children, and to haue al the whole dooing of hir Daughters and women.

Also be louing vnto your children, and be not fierce nor cruell vnto them. For *S. Pawle* saith: *Fathers, rate not your children, least they be of a desperate minde, but with discrete admonitions, and with your pure and good example of liuinge (which is the cheefest perswasion), lead them to all vertue and godlynesse.*

If all Parentes would vertuouly bringe vp their children in the knowledge and feare of God, in the practice & exercise of some honest Science or Craft, Then should we not see so many ydell as bee; so many Vacabondes, Theeues, and Murderers, so many vicious persons of all degrees, nor such vngodlynes raigne. But then should wee see euery man honestly get his lyuing, preferring his Neighbours proffite as his owne; then should wee see all men rightly do their duties; then should loue and charity spring, and all godlynesse raigne; then should the Lawes and Magistrates be willingly obeyed, the common wealth flourish, and God rightly honoured, for in this point only, through the grace of God, consistes the amendment of all the whole worlde.

Therefore, (my deare and welbeloued Christians) seeing that in this blessed state of Matrimony, and godly householde of husband, wife, and children, consistes (next vnder God) the cheefest and highest felicitie of this worlde, and maintenance of the same, wherein the common wealth is wholly aduanced, and God most highly honoured, I ¹exhort you in the name of Iesus Christ, the Sonne of the liuinge God, that you walke worthely therin, accordinge to the will of Christ, which you professe without faining, and that you eschue all woorkes and deedes of the fleshe, which bee these, saith *S. Pawle*: *Adultery, Fornication, vncleanenesse, wantonnesse, Idolatry, Witchcrafte, hatred, varyance, wrath, strife, sedition, sectes, enuyinge, murther, drunkennesse, gluttony, and such like; of the which I tell you before, as I haue tolde you² in times past, that they which commit such thinges shall not inherite the kingdome of God.* Therefore, follow yee the spirit and workes of the same, which bee, (sayth *S. Pawle*): *Loue, ioy, peace, longe suffering, gentilnesse, goodnesse, faithfulnessse, meekenesse, temperance, and such like.* And yet once agayne I exhort you with the exhorta-

¹ page 88.

² orig. you you

cion of *S. Pawle*: *If there be amongst you any consolation in Christ, if there be any comfortable loue, if there be any felowship of the spirit, if there be any compassion of mercy, fulfill you my ioy, that ye draw one way, hauing one loue, beeing of one accorde, and of one minde, that nothing bee done through strife or vaine glory, but that in meekenesse of minde, euery one esteeme other better then them selfe, and so shal you leade a ioyfull, quiet, and godly life in this world, and after, through Iesus Christ, come to the life euerlasting, with God the Father, to whom bee all honour and glory. Amen.*

*Rom. 10. If the roote bee whole, the
braunches shall bee whole also.*

FINIS.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE BIBLE

IN THE

GLASSE OF GODLY LOVE.

Title page, p. 177, *Jam.* i. 22 ; *Col.* iii. 14.

p. 179, Yee Wives, &c., *Eph.* v. 22-4.

p. 180, Let the Wives, &c., 1 *Pet.* iii. 1-6 ; Let the elder Women, &c., *Titus* ii. 3-5.

p. 181, Husbandes, love your Wives, &c., *Eph.* v. 25 ; So ought men, &c., *Idem.* 28-9 ; his owne bodye, &c., 1 *Cor.* vii. 4.

p. 182, For in many things, &c., 1 *Pet.* iii. 7, 8 ? Faire wordes, &c., *Prov.* xvi. 24 ; the strong, &c., *Rom.* xv. 1 ; let one suffer, &c., 1 *Cor.* xii. 26 ? beare ye, &c., *Gal.* vi. 2 ; and above all thinge, &c., 1 *Pet.* iv. 8.

p. 183, Let all bitternesse, &c., *Eph.* iv. 31.

p. 184, A man shall forsake, &c., *Gen.* ii. 24 ; For Salomon askinge, &c., *Prov.* xxiii. 29, 30 ; Better is a dry morsell, &c., *Prov.* xvii. 1 ; Salomon in the Booke of Wisdome, *Wisdom* iv. 1-7.

p. 185, Be ye folowers, &c., *Eph.* v. 1-5.

p. 186, God hath not called you, &c., 1 *Thess.* iv. 7 ; It is the will of God, &c., *Idem.* 3-5 ; Also, Sainct Pawle, &c., 1 *Cor.* vii. 5.

p. 187, For they that wil not worke, &c., 2 *Thess.* iii. 10 ; If there bee any, &c., 1 *Tim.* v. 8.

p. 188, Fathers, rate not your children, &c., *Eph.* vi. 4 ; Adultery, &c., *Gal.* v. 19-21 ; Love, &c., *Idem.* 22.

p. 189, If there be amongst you, &c., *Philipp.* ii. 1-3 ; If the roote, &c., *Rom.* xi. 16.

NOTES.

p. xiii. *John Lane and Milton's father.* "Besides these, there remains, as evidence of Lane's perseverance, a long manuscript poem in the Museum [Royal MS., 17. B. xv.], dated 1621, and entitled *Triton's Trumpet to the Twelve Months, husbanded and moralized*. In it there is a distinct allusion to the scrivener Milton, in his capacity as a musical composer. Here it is—specimen enough of all Lane's poetry!—

Accenting, airing, curbing, ordering
Those sweet parts Meltonus did compose,
As wonder's self amazed was at the close,
Which in a counter-point maintaining *hielo*
'Gan all sum up thus ÷ *Alleluiah Deo.*"

But, more interesting still, another of Lane's manuscripts—that of "Guy of Warwick"—furnishes us with a specimen of the musician's powers in returning the compliment. This manuscript had evidently been prepared for the press; and on the back of the title-page is a sonnet headed "*Johannes Melton, Londinensis civis, amico suo viatico, in poesis laudem;*" that is, "John Milton, citizen of London, to his wayfaring friend in praise of his poetry." The sonnet is so bad that Lane might have written it himself; but, bad or good, as a sonnet by Milton's father, the world has a right to see it. So here it is:—

"If virtue this be not, what is? Tell quick!
For childhood, manhood, old age, thou dost write
Love, war, and lusts quelled by arm heroic,
Instanced in Guy of Warwick, knighthood's light:
Heralds' records, and each sound antiquary,
For Guy's true being, life, death, eke hast sought,
To satisfy those which *prævaricari*;
Manuscript, chronicle, if might be bought;
Coventry's, Winton's, Warwick's monuments,
Trophies, traditions delivered of Guy,
With care, cost, pain, as sweetly thou presents,
To exemplify the flower of chivalry:
From cradle to the saddle and the bier,
For Christian imitation all are here."¹

¹ "Harl. MS. 5243. Mr. Hunter was the first to print this sonnet; and also, so far as I am aware, to refer, in connexion with Milton, to Lane's MSS. generally."
—1859. D. Masson's *Life of Milton*, i. 42-3.

p. xiii. John Lane's *Triton's Trumpet*. "Phillips . . omits '*Triton's Trumpet*,' undoubtedly by Lane, and dated 1620, in which the death of Spenser in 1599 is mentioned, with all the particulars of his sufferings and poverty, and the vain wish of the Earl of Essex to relieve them. ('Life of Spenser,' edit. 1862, p. cli)."—J. P. Collier, *Bibliographical Catalogue*, i. 448.—F.

p. xvii. note i. Powell's *Welch Bayte*.

5^{to} Decembris

Valentine YT IS ORDERED that he shall presently bring into the hall, to be used
Symms according to the ordonance in *that* behalf. Thirtie bookes of the *welsh-bate*. and all the ballades that he hath printed of the *Traytours lately Arrayned at Winchester*.

Valentine also YT IS ORDERED that he shall pay xliis iiijd for a fine for
Symms printing the same book and ballad without Licence. And not to meddle with printing or selling any of the same bookes or ballads hereafter.

Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, iii. 249. See also ii. 837.

p. xxiii. T. Powell's *Mysterie of Lending and Borrowing*. Here is

"The Authors Inuocation.

THou spirit of old *Gybbs*, a quondam Cooke,
Thy hungry Poet doth thee now inuoke,
T-infuse in him the iuyce of Rumpie or Kidney,
And he shall sing as sweet as ere did *Sidney* :
I am not so ambitious as to wish
For black spic'keale, or such a pretious dish,
As Dottrels caught by pretty imitation,
Nor any thing so hot in operation,
As may inflame the Liuer of mine Host,
To swear I chalke too much vpon the post :
My selfe a damn'd Promethian I should thinke,
If with the Gods Scotch-Ale, or Meth, a drinke,
The vulgar to prophane, Metheglin call,
Or drops which from my Ladies Lembick fall,
In seuerall spirits of a fifth transcendence,
No, no, the hungry belly calls my mind thence :
I wish not for Castalian cups, not I,
But with the petty-Canons being dry,
And but inspir'd with one bare Qu : let any
Compare with vs for singing (O *Sydany*.)
Thy Pot-herbs, prithy, *Robbin*, now afford,
Perfume the Altar of thy Dresser-boord,
And couer it with *Hecatombes* of Mutton,
As fat and faire as euer knife did cut on :
Then will I sing the Lender and the Debter,
The martiall Mace, the Sericant and the Setter,
Ruines and reparations of lost wealth,
Still, Where you see me, Trust vnto your selfe."

p. 4, l. 11. *Lelaps*. A dog of surpassing swiftnes given by Diana to Procris, and by her presented to her husband Cephalus. See Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii, ll. 771-93, for an account of Laelaps.—S.

p. 5, l. 15. *daughters of twentye . . to rich cormorants of threescore*. Compare Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale* of January and May.—F.

p. 6, l. 2. *Durum pati meminisse dulce*. Cf. *Æn.*, I. 203. Daniello

in a note to the *Inferno*, xvi. 84, attributes this quotation to Seneca, but does not give a precise reference. See Lombardi's *Dante*, I. 351, ed. 1830.—S.

p. 6, l. 7. *Things farre fetchte and deere boughte*. See Notes to Stafford's *Examination*, p. 103.—F.

p. 7, l. 3, *for*: from, against: 'now will I dam up this thy yawning mouth *for* swallowing the treasure of the realm,' 2 *Hen. VI.* IV. i. 74; 'and advise thee to desist *for* going on death's net,' *Pericles*, I. i. 40.—Schmidt.—F.

p. 7, l. 6. *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas*. Juvenal, S. vi. 223. The usual reading is "Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit, &c."—S.

p. 8, l. 4. *women with nothing more contented then to haue their willes*. Compare Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*; Andrew Boorde's *Breviary*, chap. 242, in my edition of his *Introduction*, &c. (E. E. T. Soc.) p. 68, and note there.—F.

p. 10, l. 9. *had I wist is a slender remedy to remove repentaunce*. "I write not here a tale of had I wist: But you shall heare of travels &c."—J. Taylor (Water Poet), *Pennilesse Pilgrimage*, Spenser Soc. ed., p. 132, ll. 2-3. "A wise man saith not, had I wist."—Uncertain author in Tottel's *Miscellany*, Arber's ed. p. 244.—P. A. D. "When dede is down, hit ys to lat; be ware of hady-wyst."—The Good Wyfe Wold A Pylgremage: *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, E. E. T. S., p. 42, ll. 119-20.—S.

p. 26, l. 8 from foot. '*Knight of the Post*. Properly, a man who gained his living by giving false evidence on trials, or false bail; in a secondary sense, a sharper in general. "A *knight of the post*, quoth he, for so I am tearmed; a fellow that will sweare you any thing for twelve pence."—Nash, *Pierce Penilesse*, 1592.

"But is his resolution any way infracted, for that some refractaries are (like *knights of the post*) hired to witnesse against him?"—Ford's *Line of Life*, 1620.—(Additions to) Nares.—F.

p. 26, l. 24. "*A supplication from Pierce Pennilesse*." An allusion to a satire written by Thomas Nash, entitled "*Pierce Penilesse, his Supplication to the Divell*"; describing the over-spreading of Vice, and the suppression of Vertue. Pleasantly interlaced with variable delights, and pathetically intermixt with conceived reproofes," Lond. 1592; Watts; *Bib. Brit.*—S.

p. 29, l. 12-13. Three instances of the genitive *it* in two lines: *it* delighte, *it* ioy, *it* beginning. See too p. 90, l. 9 from foot.—F.

p. 30, l. 9-10. This proverb of the Pitcher going long to the water, but getting broken at last, is in Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, A.D. 1340: "Zuo longe geþ þet pot to the wetere, þet hit comþ to broke hom," p. 165, l. 7 from foot, ed. Stevenson, for Roxburghe Club.—F.

p. 32, l. 13 from foot. *it was the parte of Mad Men*, &c. A free expansion of "Quare in tranquillo tempestatem adversam optare dementis est, subvenire autem tempestatui quavis ratione sapientis."—Cic. *Off.* I. xxiv. 5.—S.

p. 33, l. 17. *a tooting head*: one with horns, through which men toot or blow, the mark of a cuckold.—F.

p. 33, l. 30. *where Christes crosse standes*: that is, at the head of the alphabet. '*La croix de par dieu*. The Christs-crosse-row; or Horne-booke wherein a child learns it.'—Cotgrave.—F.

p. 36, l. 3. *mistrisse her necke*. This absurd form of the possessive case came in from the mistake in the masculine, 'Robin good-fellow *his* newes,' p. 49, &c., as if the genitive -s, -es was contracted from *hi-s*. In the second text of Layamon's *Brut* are many of these genitives in *his*, some of them to feminine nouns. They arose from the scribe of that MS. being very fond of *h's*, and putting *h* on to the genitives in -is, which -is was often written apart from the crude form of its noun.—F.

p. 36, l. 11. *nor so many yeeld uppe the possession of their garmentes to the hangman*. "There was a curst page that his master whipt naked, and when he had been whipt, would not put on his cloaths; and when his master bad him, 'take them you, for they are the hangman's fees.'"—Bacon's *Apophthegms*, No. 69, *Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Bacon*, 1802.—S.

p. 39, l. 3. *Omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus amori*.—Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 69.—S.

p. 39, l. 12. *that babie which lodges in womens and mens eies*. The reflected images of himself seen by a lover in the pupils of his mistress's eyes, or *vice versâ*.

Cf. "So when thou [Love] sawst in natures cabinet Stella, thou straight lookst *babies in her eyes*."—Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnet xi. ll. 9-10.

In Massinger's *Renegado*, II. iv, p. 129, col. 1, ed. Gifford, 1840, Donusa says to Vitelli, "When a young lady wrings you by the hand, thus, Or with an amorous touch presses your foot, Looks *babies in your eyes*, plays with your locks, Do not you find without a tutor's help, What 'tis she looks for?"—S.

p. 43, l. 14. 'Thirteen Pence Halfpenny was considered as the hangman's wages very early in the 17th century. How much sooner, I have not noticed. "'Sfoot, what a witty rogue was this to leave this fair *thirteen pence halfpenny*, and this old halter, intimating aptly,

Had the hangman met us there, by these presages,
Here had been his work, and here *his wages*."

Match at Midnight, Old Plays, vii. 357.

"If I shold, he could not hang me for't; 'tis not worth thirteen pence halfpenny."—J. Day's *Humour out of Breath*, sign. F. 3.—Nares.—F.

p. 55, l. 22. *Greenes Cunnyberries*, Robert Greene's Coney-burrows, alluding to his four Coneycatching tracts: I. A Notable Discouery of Cosnage, 1591; II. The Second Part of Conny-catching, 1591; III. The Third and last part of Conny-catching, With the new deuised knavish arte of Foole-taking, 1592. IV. A Disputation Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conney-catcher, whether a Theafe or a Whorer is

most hurtfull in Cousonage, to the Commonwealth. Discouering the Secret Villanies of alluring Strumpets. With the Conuersion of an English Courtizen, reformed this present yeare 1592.—*Haslitt*.—F.

p. 55, last line. *then on goes her pantopples*. "Such is the Nature of these nouises that think to haue learning without labour, . . . that for the most parte they *stande so on their pantuffles*, that they be secure of perils, obstinate in their own opinions, impatient of labour, apt to conceive wrong, credulous to believe the worst, ready to shake off their olde acquaintance without cause, and to condemne them without colour."—*Euphues*, p. 47, ed. Arber.

Sander. . . "Why looke you now, ile scarce put up plain Sander now at any of their hands ; for and any body have any thing to do with my master, straight they come crouching upon me,—'I beseech you good M. Sander speake a good word for me,'—and then I am so stowt and take it upon me, and *stand upon my pantoffles* to them, out of all crie, why I have a life like a giant now."—*Taming of a Shrew*, p. 174, ed. Nichols, Six old Plays.

"Stande thou on thy pantuffles, and shee will vayle bonnet."—*Euphues*, p. 117.—P. A. DANIEL.

p. 68, l. 7 from foot. *willing her*, . . . *either then or never to consent to the saving of all their lives*. Abduction was punishable with death. By statute 39 Eliz. c. 9, principals, procurers, or accessories before the fact, were deprived of benefit of clergy. See Blackstone's *Commentaries*, ed. Kerr, 1862, iv. 231.—S.

The preamble of the Act of Elizabeth, passt in 1597, illustrates the story in the text, and runs thus :—

"Whereas of late times diuers women, as well maydens as widowes, and wiues hauing substance, some in goods moouable, and some in lands and tenements, and some being heires apparent to their Ancestours, for the lucre of such substance bene oftentimes taken by misdoers, contrary to their will, and after married to such misdoers, or to others by their assent, or defiled, to the great displeasure of God, and contrary to your Hig[h]nesses Lawes, and disparagement of the said women, and great heauinesse and discomfort of their friends, and ill example of others ; which offences, albeit the same be made felonie by a certaine act of Parliament made in the third yeere of King Henrie the seuenth : Yet forasmuch as Clergie hath been heretofore allowed to such Offenders, diuers persons haue attempted and committed the said offences in hope of life by the benefit of Clergie¹ :—Be it therefore enacted &c." Christopher Barker's edition of 1597, sign. E. This edition contains two acts more than the Record Office one, namely, "26 An Act for confirmation of the Subsidies granted by the Clergie. 27 An Act for the grant of three entire Subsidies, and sixe Fifteens and Tenths granted by the Temporalitie." Chap. 7, 'An Act for the more speedie payment of the Queenes Maiesties debts', looks as if Q. Elizabeth was insolvent : but

¹ Education the excuse for crime ! The doctrine sounds odd now.

'the Queen's debts' were debts due to her, like 'the Queen's traitors' were traitors against her.—F.

p. 69, l. 8. *the counsell Table*. The concilium ordinarium, commonly known as the court of star chamber, a branch of the privy council which assumed jurisdiction over many offences cognizable in the ordinary law courts. See Hallam's *History of England*, vol. I. chap. i.—S.

p. 69, l. 8. *she tolde so good a tale for him*, &c. If a woman was married by her abductor, she was allowed to give evidence against him of the abduction, contrary to the then general rule that a wife's evidence could not be received against her husband. See Blackstone's *Commentaries*, iv. 231.—S.

p. 71, l. 10 from foot. *cooling carde*. So Suffolk in 1 *Hen. VI.*, V. iii. 83: "There all is marr'd; there lies a *cooling card*." Not Shakspere's.—F.

A letter from Euphues to Philautus is entitled, "A cooling Carde for Philautus and all fond lovers."—*Euphues*, Arber's ed. p. 106. "Card. (2) a chart. Harrison, p. 39."—Halliwell's *Dict.*—S.

p. 75, l. 3 from foot. *a tantinie pigge*. St Anthony's. See Brand's *Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 200, note a, col. 2. And "St. Anthony's church in Threadneedle street, belonging to an hospital of that Saint, and dedicated to St. Anthony of Vienna as early as Henry III. The foundation was for a master, two priests, a schoolmaster, and twelve poor men. . . The proctors of this house used to collect alms, and take from the market people lean or ill-conditioned pigs, which they turned abroad with bells about their necks to live upon the public,—whence the saying an *Anthony's pig*, and when fat, they killed them for the use of the hospital."—Stowe's *Lond.* p. 190, in Nichols's ed. of E. Perlin, *Descr. d'Angleterre* 1558, repr. 1775, p. 13. See the Index below, p. 209.—F.

p. 82. To compare small things with great, set this page beside Julia's description of her lovers in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. ii., and Portia's of hers in the *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii.—F.

p. 83, l. 7. Smithfield (or smooth-field, an etymology sanctioned by Fitz Stephen, who describes it as *campus planus*) was celebrated for many centuries as a market, and the cheating carried on there, more especially in the sale of horses, was long notorious. A 'Smithfield horse' was the cant name for a particularly bad bargain. Falstaff tells us that his horse was bought at Smithfield (2nd part of *Henry IV.*, act I. sc. ii. ll. 56-7), and Pepys speaks "of the craft and cunning that I never dreamed of, concerning the buying and choosing of horses," *Diary*, Dec. 4, 1668. And see under Dec. 11, 1668.—H. B. W.

p. 83, l. 7 from foot. *a Smithfeelde horse*. Smithfield was noted for its horse-fairs (p. 87, l. 2 from foot); and at them, as at all other fairs, the buyer takes his chance.

"The Londoners pronounce woe to him that buyes a horse in Smythfield, that takes a servant in Pauls Church, that marries a wife out of Westminster" [noted for its stews].—Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1617, Pt. 3, p. 53. On the Fair in Smithfield, see *Bartholomew Fair*, 1641.—F.

p. 83, l. 7 from foot. *whether a Smithfeelde horse will proue good or jadish.* "heere [to Smithfield] comes many Horses, (like *Frenchmen*) rotten in the joynts, which by tricks are made to leape, though they can scarce go; he that light upon a Horse in this place, from an olde Horse-courser, sound both in wind and limbe, may light of an honest Wife in the Stews: here's many an olde Jade, that trots hard for't, that uses his legs sore against his will, for he had rather have a Stable then a Market, or a Race."—London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartred into severall Characters. By D. Lupton, 1632, pp. 36-7.—S.

p. 85, l. 3. *let them have their willes; or they will, whether you will or no.* Compare Andrew Boorde's *Breuiary*, Fol. lxxxii. back, "therefore, *Vt homo non cantet cum cuculo*, let every man please his wyfe in all matters, and displease her not, but let her haue her owne wyl, for that she wyll haue, who so euer say nay," p. 68 of my edition, E. E. T. Soc. 1870.—F.

p. 91, l. 2. *Kemps head.* An account of William Kemp will be found in Variorum Shakspeare, ed. 1821, vol. III. p. 197.—P. A. D.

p. 91, l. 9. *Knackes to knowe knaves by.* "A knack how to knowe a knave," one of Kempe's works?—P. A. D.

p. 113, l. 73. *Ovid could testify, &c.* Ultima cœlestum, terras Astræa reliquit.—Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, l. 150.—S.

p. 113, l. 84. *carnall vice . . in the Popes great hall.* On the lechery and sodomy seen in Rome by Andrew Boorde, see my edition of A. B., p. 77, with the extract from Thomas's *History of Italye* in the note there.—F.

p. 118, l. 216, *gigge, jig.* Cp. in Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, iii. 49, 50, "A pretie newe *Jigge* betwene Francis the gentleman, Richard the farmer, and theire wyves," Oct. 14, 1595; and on Oct. 21, "a ballad called *Kemps newe Jygge* betwixt a souldiour and a Miser, and Sym the clown." "The word '*jig*' is said to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon; and in old English literature its application extended, beyond the tune itself, to any jiggling rhymes that might be sung to such tunes. The songs sung by clowns after plays (which like those of Tarleton, were often extempore,) and any other merry ditties, were called *jigs*. 'Nay, sit down by my side, and I will sing thee one of my countrey *jigges* to make thee merry,' says Deloney, in his *Thomas of Reading*."—Chappell's *Popular Music*, ii. 495.—F.

p. 118, l. 230. *Seven Deadly Sins.* Compare 'The Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London: Drawne in seuen seuerall Coaches, Through seuen seuerall Gates of the Citie, Bringing the Plague with them. Opus septem Dierum. Tho: Dekker. At London Printed by E. A. for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be solde at his shop neere Saint Austens gate. 1606. 4to, black letter, 31 leaves.'—*Hazlitt*. Also Dekker's 'Belman of London,' 1608; 'Lanthorne and Candlelight,' 1609; 'O per se O,' 1612; 'Villanies discovered,' 1616; and the successive versions of his 'English Villanies,' 1632-48.—F.

p. 121, l. 304. *Some weare short cloakes, some cloakes that reach the heel.* "In the time of Queene Mary, and the beginning of the Raigne

of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for many yeeres before, it was not lawfull for any man either servant or others, to weare their Gowns lower than to the calves of their legges, except they were above threescore yeares of age, but the length of Cloakes being not limited, they made them Cloakes downe to their Shoes”—Stow's *Annales*, continued by Edmund Howes, ed. 1631, pp. 1039-40.—S.

p. 121, ll. 307-10. *Bold Bettresse*, &c.; p. 122, l. 333. *fannes by truls are borne*. “Womens Maskes, Buskes, Muffes, Fanns, Periwiges and Bodkins, were first devised, and used in Italy by Curtezans, and from thence brought into France, and there received of the best sort for gallant ornaments, and from thence they came into England, about the time of the Massacre of Paris” [1572].—*Idem*, p. 1038, col. 2.—S.

p. 126, l. 451. *Wrath is the cause that men in Smith-field meete*.

“This field commonly called West-Smithfield, was for many yeares called *Ruffians hall*, by reason it was the usuall place of Frayes and common fighting, during the time that Sword and Bucklers were in use.

“When every Serving-man from the base to the best, carried a Buckler at his backe, which hung by the hilt or pomell of his Sword which hung before him.

“This manner of Fight was frequent with all men, untill the fight of Rapier and Dagger tooke place, and then suddenly the generall quarrell of fighting abated, which began about the 20 yeare of Queene *Elizabeth* [1577-8], for untill then it was usuall to have Frayes, Fights, and Quarrells, upon the Sundayes and Holidayes, sometimes twenty, thirty, and forty Swords and Bucklers, halfe against halfe, as well by quarrells of appointment as by chance.

“Especially from the midst of Aprill, untill the end of October, by reason, Smithfield was then free from durte and plashes. And in the Winter season, all the high streetes were much annoyed and troubled with hourelly frayes of sword and buckler men who tooke pleasure in that bragging fight; and although they made great shew of much furie and fought often, Yet seldome any man hurt for thrusting was not then in use: neither would one of twentie strike beneath the waste, by reason they held it cowardly and beastly. But the ensuing deadly fight of Rapier and Dagger suddenly suppressed the fighting with Sword and Buckler.”—Stow's *Annales*, continued by Edmund Howes, ed. 1631, p. 1024, col. 1 and 2.—S.

p. 127, l. 497. *Idleness*. See Andrew Boorde's amusing 151st Chapter of his *Breuiary*, on ‘an euyl Feuer, the whiche dothe cumber yonge persons, named the Feuer lurden.’ His remedy is: “There is nothyng so good for the Feuer lurden as is *Vnguentum baculinum*, that is to say, Take me a stycke or wand of a yerde of length and more, and let it be as great as a mans fynger, and with it anyont the bake and the shuldres well, mornynge and euenynge, and do this .xxi. dayes,” &c.: see my edition, p. 83-4, and the Index to my *Babees Book*.—F.

p. 129, ll. 562, 564. There were two Compters or prisons for debtors

in the city of London ; each being under the superintendence of one of the Sheriffs. The Poultry Compter stood a few doors from St Mildred's church until 1817, when it was taken down. Stow wrote of it, "this hath been there kept and continued time out of mind, for I have not read of the original thereof." Wood Street Compter stood on the east side of Wood Street, Cheapside, and was first established there in 1555, when the prisoners were removed from the old Compter in Bread Street to the new one in Wood Street. The latter was burnt down in the Great Fire, but rebuilt afterwards. The prison was removed to Giltspur Street in 1791. T. Middleton introduced a reference to the two Compters in his *Phoenix*—"for as in that notable city called London stand two most famous Universities, Poultry and Wood street, where some are of twenty years' standing and have took all their degrees." Quoted in Cunningham's *Handbook of London*.—H. B. W. Thomas Nash also praised the Compter ironically in his '*Strange Newes*,' 1592, (sign. I.) :—

"Heare what I say : a gentleman is never throughly entred into credit till he hath been there ; and that Poet or novice, be hee what he will, ought to suspect his wit, and remaine halfe in doubt that it is not authentically, till it hath beene seene and allowed in unthrifits consistory. *Grande doloris ingenium!* Let fooles dwell in no stronger houses than their fathers built them, but I protest I should never have writ passion well, or beene a piece of a poet, if I had not arriv'd in those quarters. Trace the gallantest youthes, and bravest revellers about towne, in all the by-paths of their expence, and you shall infallibly finde, that once in their life-time they have visited that melancholy habitation. Come, come, if you goe to the sound truth of it, there is no place of the earth like it, to make a man wise. Cambridge and Oxford may stand under the elbowe of it. I vow, if I had a sonne, I would sooner send him to one of the Counters to learne lawe, than to the Innes of Court or Chancery." (in Collier's *Bibl. Catal.* i. 277.)

p. 133, l. 679. *light-taylde huswives*. Compare 'A Dialogue bytwene the commune secretary and Jalowsye, Touchynge the vnstabilnesse of Harlottes,' John Kynge [1550-61], Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 400.

"She that is fayre, lusty and yonge,
And can comon in termes with fyled tonge,
And wyll abyde whysperynge in the eare,
Thynke ye her *tayle is not lyght of the seare?*"

This is Hamlet's 'tickle o' the sere,' the sear being the catch of a gunlock, which when stiff, makes you pull the trigger very hard, but when light, turns it into a 'hair-trigger,' one that'll go at the touch of a hair.—F.

William Goddard's *Neaste of Waspes*, 1615, gives the theatres a bad character too (Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 314) :—

"Goe to your plaie-howse, you shall actors have,
Your baude, your gull, your whore, your pander knave,

Goe to your bawdie house, y'ave actors too,
 As bawdes, and whores, and gulls, pandars also,
 Besides, in either howse (yf you enquire)
 A place there is for men themselves to tire.
 Since th' are so like, to choose theres not a pinn,
 Whether bawdye-house, or plaie-howse you goe in."

As to the round house, compare *The Cries of London* (ib. p. 163, time of Jas. I.)

"The Players on the Banckeside,
 The round *Globe* and the Swan,
 Will search you idle tricks of love,
 But the Bull will play the man."

The Bull was 'The Red Bull' theatre in Clerkenwell. The Rose theatre on or near Bankside was also round. See Norden's Map, 1593.—F.

p. 139, l. 7. *Hee askt him, If hee had a Passe, &c.* "Any two *Justices* of Peace may licence such as be delivered out of *Gaoles*, to begge for their fees, or to travell to their Countrey, or friends: and may give licence for fourtie dayes to a *Rogue*, that is marked [branded?]: and may make testimonial to a Servingman, that is turned away from his master, or whose master is dead: 14 Eliz. cap. 5; and 18 Eliz. cap. 3; and 27 Eliz. cap. 11.

... And they may *Licence* diseased persons (living of almes) to travel to *Bathe*, or to *Buckstone*, for remedies of their grieffe, 14 Eliz. cap. 5, and 27 Eliz. cap. 11."—Lambard's *Eirenarcha*, ed. 1592, p. 321-2.

"Two such *Justices* may give licence to *Fencers, Bearewards, Common players* in Enterludes, *Minstrels, Juglers, Pedlers, Tinkers*, and *Petite-chapmen*, to goe abroad, so as they shall not be taken as Rogues. 14 Eliz. cap. 5; and 27 Eliz. cap. 11."—*Idem*, pp. 341-2.—S.

p. 140, l. 45. *Signa virtutum tuarum longe lateque ferens.* A reminiscence of Horace, *Od.* IV. i. 16.—S.

p. 141, l. 1. *folk leaving town after Term.* Compare Lord Campbell's note on p. 23-4 of his *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements considered*, 1859:

"Even so late as Queen Anne's reign there seems to have been a prodigious influx of all ranks from the provinces into the metropolis in term time. During the preceding century, Parliament sometimes did not meet at all for a considerable number of years; and being summoned rarely and capriciously, the 'London season' seems to have been regulated, not by the session of Parliament, but by the law terms,—

'... and prints before Term ends.'—*Pope*.

While term lasted, Westminster Hall was crowded all the morning, not only by lawyers, but by idlers and politicians in quest of news. *Term having ended, there seems to have been a general dispersion.* Even the Judges spent their vacations in the country, having when in town resided in their chambers in the Temple or Inns of Court. The Chiefs were obliged to remain in town a day or two after term, for *Nisi Prius* sittings; but the *Puisnes* were entirely liberated when proclamation was made at the rising of the court on the last day of term, in the form still preserved,

that "all manner of persons may take their ease, and give their attendance here again on the first day of the ensuing term. . . ."

See Thomas Dekker's 'The Dead Terme. Or Westminster Complaint for long Vacations and short Tearmes. Written in manner of a Dialogue betweene the two Cities of London and Westminster. London, Printed and are to be sold by Iohn Hodgets. 1608. 4to, black letter, 27 leaves.'—F.

p. 156, l. 19. "Actuary, (*Actuarius*) Is the Clerk or Scribe, that registers the Canons and Constitutions of the Convocation: Also an Officer in the Court Christian, who is in Nature of a Register."—Cowel's *Law Dict.*, ed. 1727.

p. 158, l. 6. *Swainmoots of Forrests*. "From the *Sax.* swan, a swain, as *Country-swain*, *Boot-swain*, and gemote, a Court or Convention. The *Swanemote* was a Court held twice a year [Spelman and Cowel say thrice.—S.] by the forest officers, fifteen days before *Midsummer*, and three weeks before *Michaelmass*, for enquiry of the trespasses committed within the bounds of the forest."—Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*, ed. 1695, Glossary, s.v. *Swanemotum*.—S.

p. 158, l. 12. *The Virge*. "Verge, *Virgata*, may seem to come from the French *Verger*, *viridarium*, and is used here in *England* for the Compass of the King's Court, which bounds the jurisdiction of the Lord Steward of the King's Household, and of the Coroner of the King's House, and that seems to have been Twelve Miles Compass."—Cowel's *Law Dict.* ed. 1727.—S.

p. 158, l. 16. *The Clinke*. "Then next is the *Clinke*, a Goal or Prison for the Trespassers in those Parts, namely, in old time for such as should Brabble, Fray, or break the Peace on the said Bank [the Bankside, Southwark] or in the *Brothel* Houses, they were by the Inhabitants thereabout apprehended and committed to this Goal, when they were straitly Imprisoned."—Strype's *Stow*, ed. 1720, II. book iv. p. 8, col. 1.—S.

p. 159, l. 9 from foot. *And here I remember me of an old tale*. This story will be found in Bacon's *Apophthegms*, No. 34, *Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Bacon*, ed. 1802, p. 12.—S.

p. 163, l. 12 from foot. *An Enginere for making of Patars*. Grose (*Military Antiquities*, I. p. 402) gives an engraving of "Pierriers, vulgarly called Pattereros," and says, "Chamber'd pieces for throwing stones, called cannon perriers . . . were about this time [Edward VI. reign] much used in small forts, and on shipboard."—S.

p. 171, l. 1. *Sir John Hawkins' hospital at Chatham*. An hospital for decayed mariners and shipwrights was founded by Sir John Hawkins, in 1592, in which twelve pensioners have each a separate house, an allowance of eight shillings per week, and an annual supply of coal: the management is vested in 26 governors, of which number five are elective.—Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*.—S.

p. 175, l. 2. *Navibus atque*, &c. Hor. *Ep.* I. xi. 28—30.—S.

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I

STAFFORD'S
EXAMINATION OF COMPLAINTS.

A.D. 1581.



SERIES VI.
SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND.

111

PRESENTED
BY THREE MEMBERS
OF
THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY
TO
THEIR FELLOW MEMBERS.

1/2

L

WILLIAM STAFFORD'S

Compendious or brieve

Examination of certayne ordinary

Complaints

of diuers of our Countrymen

in these our Dayes,

A.D. 1581,

(OTHERWISE CALLED

"A BRIEFE CONCEIPT OF ENGLISH POLLICY.")

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

PUBLISHT FOR

The New Shakspeare Society

BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57, 59, LUDGATE HILL,

LONDON, E.C., 1876.

[This treatise by "W. S." is assigned to WILLIAM STAFFORD on the authority of Anthony Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, in the 2nd or posthumous edition of his *Ath. Oxon.* (from his notes) 1721, vol. i. col. 203, and the statement of Dr Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*, 1767, "I have since observed, that Wood is not the first who hath given us the true author of the pamphlet."—*Variorum Shakspeare*, 1821; vol. i. p. 346, note.]

Series VI. No. 3.

R. CLAY AND SONS, CHAUCER PRESS, BUNGAY.

FOREWORDS.

OF the Elizabethan Tracts in the *Condition-of-Tudor-England-Series* which the Early English Text Society undertook at my request in 1869 (see Report, Jan. 1869, p. 17—20), one of the earliest in date was the present *Examination*, by William Stafford, of certain complaints of his countrymen in his day, A.D. 1581. The most important work was Harrison's *Description of England*, A.D. 1577—87, in Shakspeare's youth, of which, Book 2 appears with this *Stafford*. The most amusing¹ was Stubbes's *Anatomy of the Abuses, or notable Vices and Corruptions*, reigning in England in 1583—95; and a reprint of this, our member Mr Richard Johnson will kindly give us this year. These volumes, together with the *Tell-troth* one—containing reprints of the unique² *Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift*, and *Passionate Morrice*, 1593, the very rare *Tom Tell-troths Message, and his Pens Complaint*, 1600, Thomas Powell's *Tom of all Trades*, 1631, and Thos. Pritchard's³ unique² *Glasse of Godly Loue*—will give a good start to our New Shakspeare Society's *Shakspeare's-England Series*, the sixth of the eight Series planned for it.

This Series may of course run to an almost indefinite extent; and as the Early English Text Society has only too gladly handed over to the New Shakspeare Society this portion of its work, I hope that the new Society will at least reprint the works that the old one had undertaken:

“The Complaint of England, by William Lightfoote, A.D. 1587.

“A Looking-Glasse for Englande. Wherein those enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Commonwealth &c., A.D. 1590.

¹ Dekker's *Guls Horne-Book*, 1609, was not included in the list, as Nott's edition of 1812 (? Halliwell's of 1862) was still in the market; but the book is now in Mr Henry Brown's hands to prepare for a new edition for the New Shakspeare Society. Dekker's *Belman of London*, 1608, and *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, 1609, prig largely—as does the *Groundwork of Cony-catching*, 1592—from Harman's *Caveat*, 1567. See the edition of the latter by Mr Viles and myself, E. E. Text Soc. 1869, p. xiv—xxi.

² Believd so to be.

³ Or John Rogers's.

"The Mirror and Manners of Men. Written by Thomas Churchyard, Gent. 1594.

"To the Kings most excellent Maiestie. The Hymble Petition of two Sisters: the Chvrch and Common-wealth: For the restoring of their ancient Commons and liberties, which late Inclosure with depopulation, vncharitably hath taken away: Containing seven reasons as euidences for the same. [By Francis Trigge.] Londini, Impensis Georgii Bishop. 1604."

Very many lighter and more amusing tracts might be added to the list. The Committee will be glad to hear of any fresh ones, and of any Members who will help, by gifts of money, to present Reprints to the Society.¹

¹ The Early English Text Society has publisht the following Texts bearing on the Language and Social Condition of Shakspeare's time:—

Hume's Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue, ab. 1617 A.D., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4s. 1865.

Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by A. J. Ellis, F.R.S. 4 parts, 10s. each. 1867, 1869, 1871, 1874.

Queene Elizabethes Achademy, a Book of Precedence, &c. Edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., with Essays on early Italian and German Books of Courtesy, by W. M. Rossetti, Esq., and E. Oswald, Esq. 13s. 1869.

Awdeley's Fraternitie of Vaccabondes, 1561, Harman's Caveat, 1567, &c. (describing the different classes of Rogues). Edited by E. Viles, Esq., and F. J. Furnivall, Esq. 7s. 6d. 1869.

(Hugh Rhodes's *Book of Nurture*, 1577, Richard Weste's *Booke of Demeanor*, 1619, and F. Seager's *Schoole of Vertue*, 1557, are in the *Babees Book*, 1868.)

The Times Whistle, and other Poems, by R. C., A.D. 1616, edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. (part of this gives a dark picture of the vices of the time). 6s. 1871.

Francis Thynne's Embleames and Epigrams, 1600, from the Earl of Ellesmere's unique MS., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 4s. 1876.

On the Condition of earlier Tudor England, the E. E. Text Soc. has publisht (besides Sir David Lyndesay's Works):—

Andrew Boorde's Introduction of Knowledge, 1547, and Dyetary of Helth, 1542; with Barnes in the Defence of the Berd, 1542-3. Edited, with a Life of Boorde, and an account of his Works, by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 18s. 1870.

England in Henry VIII.'s Time: a Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Lupset, mainly on the Condition of England, written by Thomas Starkey, Chaplain to Henry VIII. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. Part II. 12s. 1871. (Part I., *Starkey's Life and Letters*, is in preparation.)

A Supplycacyon of the Beggars, by Simon Fish, 1528-9 A.D., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A.; with A Supplication to our Moste Soueraigne Lorde; A Supplication of the Poore Commons; and The Decaye of England by the Great Multitude of Sheep. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 6s. 1871.

Robert Crowley's Thirty-one Epigrams, Voyce of The Last Trumpet, Way to Wealth, &c., 1550-1 A.D., edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 12s. 1872.

The Complaynt of Scotlande, 1549 A.D., with an Appendix of four Contemporary English Tracts, edited by J. A. H. Murray, Esq. 10s. 1872-1873.

Henry Brinklow's Complaynt of Roderyck Mors, somtyme a gray Fryre, vnto the Parliament Howse of Ingland his naturall Country, for the Redresse o

Forewords. Stafford on the dearth of goods. v

Stafford's book is not, like Harrison's, a deliberate description of the social state of England at its date (1581), but an inquiry into the causes of the dearth or dearness¹ of things then prevailing. Of the great rise in prices since his youth, Harrison too complains, and gives some interesting particulars (pp. 144, 153, 300, &c. of my edition). Harrison complains also of an occasional scarcity of supplies (p. 302); but that there was no general dearth, or scarcity in our sense, is clear from the silence of the chroniclers on the point.

The only notice in Stowe of a dearth² in any year near 1581, is

certen wicked Lawes, euel Customes, and cruel Decreys (ab. 1542); and The Lamentacion of a Christian against the Citie of London, made by Roderigo Mors, A.D. 1545. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 9s. 1874.

The Ballad Society has publisht, for Tudor England:—

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. i: Ballads on the Condition of England in Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s reigns (including the State of the Clergy, Monks, and Friars), on Wolsey, Anne Boleyn, Somerset, and Lady Jane Grey, with Wynkyn de Worde's *Treatise of a Galaunt* (ab. 1520 A.D.); ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A., 1860, 1872.

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. ii: The Poore Man's Pittance, by Richard Williams (1. The fall of Anthony Babington; 2. the Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, beheaded 1601; 3. the horrible Treason of the Gunpowder Plot); Ballads on Queen Elizabeth, Essex, Campion, Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, Warwick, and Bacon; the Candlewick Ballads, &c.; edited by J. F. Furnivall, M.A., and W. R. Morfill, M.A.

Captain Cox his Ballads and Books, or Robert Laneham's Letter; Whearin part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Majesty at Killingworth Castle, in Warwik Sheer in this Soomerz Progress. 1575. is signified; from a freend officer attendant in the Court, unto hiz freend, a Citizen and Merchaut of London. Re-edited by F. J. Furnivall, with Forewords describing all the accessible Books, Tales, and Ballads, in Captain Cox's List, and the *Complaynt of Scotland*, 1548-9 A.D. (so as to show the Literature on which a man of the lower middle class in Shakspeare's time was brought up).

Jyll of Braintford, The Wyll of the Deuyll, Talk of ten Wives, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A.

¹ This meaning of *dearth* is now lost in its second sense of 'scarcity.' The first meaning is seen in Chaucer's "Seint Gregory sayth, that precious clothing is culpable for the *derthe* of it, and for his softnesse, and for his strangenesse and disguising," *Parson's Tale*, quoted by Richardson, but not in the Ellesmere MS., or Harl. 7334. "We should then not only haue *dearth*, but also skarcenes of corne, that we should be driuen to seeke it from outwarde parties and pay deare for it." p. 47 below, l. 4 from foot.

² The chief dearth in Shakspeare's time was in 1594-5. And as one cause of it was the great rains that fell in May, June, July, and September, 1594, and some critics date *The Midsummer Night's Dream* 1594-5, from its supposed allusion to these rains in II. i. 88-117, I print, at the end of these *Forewords*, the passages from Stowe relating to this dearth. *King John* (1595) is also supposed to allude to these rains and floods, from its storm imagery, its 'river peering o'er his bounds,' III. i. 23, its 'bated and retired flood,' V. iv. 53, &c. &c.

vi Forewords. High prices in 1574. Stafford's book.

the following in 1574,—p. 1147, ed. 1605 (the Author's last edition)—but the rise in prices was only for a short time :¹

An. reg. 16.
1574.

Dearth without
scarcitie

Bay salt deare

"This yeere about Lammas, wheate was sold at London for three shillings the bushell ; but shortly after it was raised to foure shillings, fue shillings, sixe shillings, and before Christmas, to a noble and seuen shillings, which so continued long after : beefe was sold for twenty pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other flesh and white meats at an excessiue price ; all kinde of salt fish very deere, as fue herrings twopence, &c., yet great plentie of fresh-fish, and oft times the same very cheape : bay salt at three shillings the bushell, &c. All this dearth notwithstanding (thanks be giuen to God) there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money.

p. 1149. "This yeare at London after haruest, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall from seuen shillings to three shillings the bushell : at which price it stayed (little or nothing rising or falling) all the yeare after ; but bay salt was raised from three shillings to foure, fue, and sixe shillings the bushell, the like whereof had never beene seene or heard within this realme."

Stowe's words "there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money" may be taken as telling the real state of the case [cp. p. 32 below]. But how about those who did want money, or, at any rate, those whose money didn't go so far as in former days? Well, they grumbl'd. And William Stafford, acting as Doctor or Counsellor, heard the complaints of a representative of each class—a Knight for the land-owners, a Husbandman for the farmers, a Merchant for the traders, and a Capper for the artisans—and gave his opinion on the reasonableness of their complaints, the causes of the high prices they grumbl'd at, and the remedies for these evils. In the course of this we get much valuable light thrown on the condition of England in Shakspeare's youth (see especially, p. 28-9, 33-4, 36, 37, 40, 45, 50-4, 61, 63-6, 71-2, 87-91); and hence comes the reprint of Stafford's tract in our Sixth Series.² As Mr Matthew has

¹ Stowe notes the high prices of grain and food in 1587 :—

1587.
Proclamation for
graine.

The queenes maiesty, foreseeing the generall dearth of graine, and other victuals, growne partly through the vnseasonableness of the yeares past, partly through the vncharitable greedinesse of such as be great corne maisters, but especially through the vnlawfull and ouermuch transporting of graine into forraine countries, vnder colour of licence granted, by the aduise of her honorable counsell, published a proclamation and booke of orders to be taken by her iustices for reliefe of the poore ; notwithstanding all which, the excessiue prises of graine still increased, so that wheate was solde at London for 8 s. the bushell, and in some other parts of the realme, for 10 s., 12 s. 13 s. &c.

² Stafford is quoted several times in the well-known Sir F. M. Eden's "*State*

Forewords. Base money coind, then lowerd in value. vii

dealt, in his *Introduction*, with the value of the complaints and Stafford's remedies, I only refer here to my collection of extracts on the Enclosures in Tudor times, in my *Ballads from MSS.*, vol. i, p. 3-56, and to Mr J. M. Cowper's editions of *England in Henry VIII's time* and the *Supplications* for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series (above, p. iv, note).

As too Stafford agrees with the Merchant (p. 27-8) in attributing the original rise of prices to the debasement of our coin by Henry VIII, I give here the extracts from Stowe relating to this base coinage, its successive falls, and final calling-in:—

In this meane space, to wit, on the sixteenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the enhaunsing of golde to 48.s. and siluer to foure shillings the ounce. Also the king caused to be coined base moneyes in great abundance, which was since that time, to wit, in the fift yeere of King *Edward* the sixt, called doune, from 12 pence to nine pence, from 9 pence to 6 pence: and in the seconde yeere of Queene *Elizabeth* called in to her maiesties mints, and there refined.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615.

(A.D. 1544.)
(36 Hen. VIII.)
Base money
coined.

The 9 of July, the base moneyes (coyned in the time of King *Henry* the eight, and king *Edward* the sixt) was proclaimed, the shilling to goe for 9 pence, the groate for 3 pence: which tooke effect immediately after the proclamation was made.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 605.

1551.
First fall
of the base
money

The 17 of August, the shilling, which of late was called downe to nine pence, was called downe to 6.d., the groat to 2.d., the halfe groate to one penny, the penny to an halfe penney.—*ib.*¹

Second fall of
base monies.

of the Poor," 1797; and at Vol. I. p. 89 *note*, he is cited as having influenced the Legislature:

"In imposing restrictions of the exportation of wool, the Legislature seems to have adopted the principles of a political writer of the 16th century, who says, that, 'in order to make tillage as well cherished of every man as pasture, the first way is to make the wool to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof as the corne is; and that shall be, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing over sea unwrought, as yee make of corne: another is, to increase the custome of woole that passeth over unwrought; & by that the price of it shall be abated to the breeders, & yet the price over sea shall be never the lesse.' A compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints, &c. by W. S. 1581 [p. 44]. This piece, in which several important branches of political science (particularly the subject of enclosures) are ably discussed in a dialogue between a merchant, a knight, a husbandman, a capper, and a doctor of divinity, has been erroneously ascribed to Shakespeare," &c. &c.

¹ On Mary's new coinages in 1553, Stowe says:

The 4 of September, was proclaimed certaine new coines of gold & siluer: a soueraigne of gold of 30.s., the halfe soueraigne 15.s., an angell of 10.s., the

¹ Mary.
New Coines.

viii Forewords. Base money calld in. Good coind.

The third and
last fall of base
money.

The 28 of September this yeere 1559, proclamation was made, that the Teston, which at first was quoynd for twelue pence, and in the raygne of K. *Edward* the sixt, had beene abated and brought downe to sixe pence, should now againe be abated and brought downe to foure pence halfe peny, being of the best sorte; and the two other sortes of Testons, being distinguished by seuerall stamps, should likewise be abated, viz. the second sort to two pence farthing; and the third sort was made of no value. And by this proclamation the olde Groat was also abated, and brought downe to two pence, and the old two pence was brought downe to a penny: these olde moneys being thus abated, the queene caused them all to bee brought into her mint, and according to the last valuation of them, shee gaue fine money of cleane siluer for them, commonly called Sterling money; and from this time there was no manner of base money quoynd or vsed in Englande,—which had beene vsuall and currant throughout this realme in all former ages,—but all English moneys were made of golde and siluer, which is not so in any other nation whatsoever, but [they all] haue sundry sorts of copper money.—*ib.* p. 646, col. 1, l. 30.

1561.
An. reg. 4.
New Coines.

The fifteenth of Nouember, the Queenes maiestie published a proclamation¹ for diuerse small pieces of siluer money to bee currant, as the sixe pence, foure pence, three pence, 2 pence, and a peny, three halfe pence, and 3 farthings: and also forbad all forraine coines to be currant within the same realme, as well gold as siluer, calling them into her maiesties mint, except 2 sorts of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the other the Flemish crowne: whereupon, for the space of halfe a yeere, was weekly brought into the Tower of London, 8000, 10000, 12000, 16000, 20000, 22000, pound of siluer plates: and as much or more in pistolets, and other gold of Spanish coines; and one week, in pistolets and other Spanish golde, 26000 pound: all these to be coyned with the Queenes stamps.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 647, col. 1, l. 50.

Stafford's tract was reprinted in 1751, and its editor tri'd to prove that Shakspeare (then a youth of 17, having perhaps not long left school) wrote it, full as it is, of experience, knowledge of life, and thought on the social condition of England, and its causes. This absurd notion was founded on the "W. S." of the title-page, and on Stafford's having, in his Dedication to the Queen, thank't her for her "late and singular clemency in pardoning a certayne my vndutifull misdemeanour." This was supposd to refer to Shakspeare's supposd stealing of Sir Thomas Lucy's deer, which must have happend, if it hapt at all, in 1585-6. The ridiculousness of the idea was exposd

halfe angell 5.s.; of siluer, the groat, halfe groat, and penny. All base coines to be currant as before.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 616, col. 1, l. 52.

¹ See it in the Appendix, p. 100 below.

by Dr Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*, p. 81-4, ed. 1821, and he showed, by a reference to Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*¹ (Pt I. col. 378, ed. Bliss), that the 'W. S. Gent.' of 1581 was a William Stafford. But that "vndutifull misdemeanour" which Stafford mentions, evidently weighd on Farmer's mind, and so, to account for it, he turnd our loyal Protestant Stafford of 1581 into a Papist traitor or a conspirator of 1587, absolutely without any reason, so far as I can see, except the chance identity of name :

"Stafford had been concerned *at that time*, and was indeed afterward, as Camden² and other Annalists inform us, with some of the Conspirators against Elizabeth, which he properly calls his *undutifull behaviour*."—Farmer, p. 83-4, ed. 1821.

I can find no notice, in the *Domestic State Papers* of the time of Elizabeth, of any William Stafford being concernd in a plot against Elizabeth till 1587.³

¹ In Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, pt I. (at the end of vol. 2 of the *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss), col. 378, under a notice of William Stafford of Norfolk, a student of Christ Church, author of the '*Reasons of the War*,' 1644, the writer says, "Besides this Will. Stafford, was another of both his names, but before him in time, author of *A Compendium, or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of diuers of our Country-men in these our Days*, &c. Lond. 1581."

² Camden, in his *Annals of Elizabeth*, ed. 1625-29, Book iii. p. 192, says : "One William Stafford, a young gentleman, and apt to conceive strange hopes, whose mother was one of the ladies of honour, and his brother Leger in France."

³ Jan. 7. 7. Confession of Leonard des Trappes, concerning the causes of his conspiring with M. De Bellievre, the French Ambassador, and *Mr Stafford*, to kill the Queen, and the circumstances of his arrest and imprisonment.

Jan. 9. 10. "Micaell Modye his confession in the afternone the 9 January 1586." Touching his conferences with Des Trappes and the French Ambassador for taking away the life of Queen Elizabeth, either by gunpowder or by poisoning her stirrup or her shoe, or some other Italian devise.

Jan. 11. 15. "The true foundation and manner of the horrible treason," or *William Stafford's* account of his dealings with Mons. Bellievre, the French Ambassador, Des Trappes, his Secretary, and one Michael Modye, in a conspiracy to kill Queen Elizabeth. Conferences between *Stafford* and the Ambassador, Des Trappes introduced by *Stafford* to Modye in Newgate. Discussion whether to kill the Queen by poison or by laying a train of gunpowder where she lieth. Discovery of the whole plot, by *Stafford*, to Walsyngham.

Jan. 12. 16. Abstract of the above, with marginal notes in Burghley's hand.

Jan. 12. 17. Notes of the speeches between *Mr Stafford* and Des Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen.

Jan. 11. 18. Notes out of the confessions of Modye and Des Trappes relative to the plot.

Jan. 14. 21. Interrogatories, in Burghley's hand, for the examination of Des

x Forewords. Wm. Stafford not Lady Dorothy's son.

In 3 *Notes and Queries*, ix. 375-6, Mr B. W. Greenfield of Southampton partly followed Dr Farmer, and gave the following account of a William Stafford (2), who he said was the author of the *Briefe Concept of English Pollicy*. But he offered no proof of the identity of the author with the man whose biography he gave. To me the tone of Stafford's book is not that of a man of twenty-seven, who afterwards 'became a hanger-on of the court;' and I think it very improbable—almost impossible—that Anthony Wood (who bagged every possible writer and known person as an Oxford man) or his editor would have left out the fact of William Stafford the author being a fellow of New College, Oxford¹, when he actually names him, and distinguishes him from the man and writer who was his son, according to Mr Greenfield. Till further evidence is produced, I do not accept Mr Greenfield's identification.

"This William Stafford was second son of Sir William Stafford of Chebsey, Knt. (a younger son of the house of Blatherwick), by his second wife Dorothy, daughter of Henry Lord Stafford, only son of Edward, last Duke of Buckingham. He was born, March 1, 1553-4, at Rocheford, Essex, an estate of the Boleyns which came to Sir William Stafford through his first wife, Mary Boleyn, sister of Queen Ann Boleyn, and widow of William Cary, Esq. In 1564 he was admitted a scholar on the foundation at Winchester College (*Admissions Book, Winchester Coll.*). In 1571 he was matriculated

Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen, and for the examination of him out of Modye's confession.

Jan. 14. 22. Translation of the preceding interrogatories in French.

Jan. 14. 23. Notes out of the confession of Des Trappes, relative to the conspiracy to murder her Maesty. [All these papers have been examin'd for me.]

1588, Aug. 14? 19. Certificate by the Lieutenant of the Tower, of the names of the prisoners in his custody, with the duration of their imprisonment, the Earl of Arundel, three years and four months, from the 1st of April, 1585; Secretary Wm. Davison, one year and six months, from Feb. 14, 1587. Sir Tho. Gerard, Thomas Abington, *William Stafford*, and others. [This is indorsed by Burghley "2 July 1588," but the dates clearly show it must have been in August. On the 14th of that month the Council directed a letter to Sir Owyn Hopton, Mr Daniel, Francis Bacon, and others, to command the keepers of all prisons to make a return of the names of the parties remaining under their several custodies for matters of recusancy, and to distinguish which of them were Jesuits or priests. Co. Reg.] p. 531.

The only earlier mention of a Mr Stafford (not identifiable with ours) is, 1581, July 1. The Court. 62. Walsyngham to Burghley. Stay in *Mr Stafford's* suit. The strange guest (Don Antonio) had audience yesternight.

¹ Dr Sewell, the head of New College, does not know any tradition of the College Wm. Stafford having been an author.

a scholar of New College, Oxford, as a Probationary Fellow—not being of founder's kin;—in 1573 elected actual Fellow in Arts of New College, being then in his twentieth year of age; and in 1575 was deprived of his Fellowship in consequence of absenting himself from college beyond the prescribed time of absence (*Registers, New Coll.*). In 1581, was printed his¹ *Briefe Conceipte of English Policy*, in which work he 'acknowledges her maiesty's late and singular clemency in pardoning certayne his undutiful misdemeaner.' His widowed mother, Lady Dorothy Stafford, being in immediate attendance upon the person of the Queen, as a lady of the bedchamber, he became a hanger-on of the court²; and his elder brother Edward,

¹ Why his? Where is the evidence?

² What is the authority for this statement as to our W. S., &c.?

P.S. Mr Greenfield has since been good enough to send me the following letter, dated *Cranbury Terrace, Southampton, 25 July, 1876*, which fails of course to identify our author with the William Stafford it describes:

"I know not whence Dr Bliss derived his authority for identifying the author 'W. S.' with *William Stafford*. But, accepting that assertion, I see no reason to doubt that he was a son of Lady Dorothy Stafford. The *internal* evidence in the '*compendium*'—which I have quoted in my article in *Notes and Queries*, viz. his acknowledgment of the Queen's *clemency towards him*, is strongly in favour of the author's being a hanger-on of the Court, and coupling this with all that I show respecting Lady Dorothy's son, William Stafford, as a *Winchester College Scholar* and *New College Fellow*, leaves little [? all imaginable] room for doubt on the subject. As to Anthony à Wood's silence, there is no force in it. Note, that à Wood is altogether silent about this William Stafford. What I have said about his Winchester and New College career is altogether new, and the result of my own research, and may be implicitly relied on as fact. To what I have said in *Notes and Queries* respecting his part in the proceedings of Des Trappes, I may further refer you to the *State Papers* in the P. R. O., *Domestic Series*, Vol. 197, No. 15, for January 1586-7, in which William Stafford identifies himself with the Stafford family [but not our book] and with the Court; for he writes, as his reason for desiring to go secretly into France, 'I was discontented upon some dislike which my Lord of Leicester had conceived of me, and that I had rather live there poorlie than remain here despised of so great a man.' The French ambassador, in his reply to Stafford, says, . . . 'but in any wise you must continue in your *brother's* favour lest you be suspected.' Here is direct allusion to his elder brother, Sir Edward Stafford, who was, at the time, our *Ambassador to Paris*.

"I doubt whether Anthony à Wood knew who 'W. S.', the author of the *Compendium*, was. . . [But his assertion is the only ground for trying to turn W. S. into Lady Dorothy Stafford's son.]

"Again, another reason for his omission in Wood's '*Fasti*' is that William Stafford does not appear to have been at Oxford long enough to have taken a University Degree. No *regularly* kept Register was extant at Oxford before 1574, which may further account for his omission by Anthony à Wood. My data are taken direct from Wykham's two Colleges at Winchester and Oxford."

xii Forewords. Mr Greenfield on a Wm. Stafford (2).

in 1583, was knighted and sent as ambassador to the court of France.

"In January, 1586-7, he disclosed a plot against the queen's life, projected by Mons. Destrappes, a servant of the French ambassador (compare Harl. MSS. 36, f. 357, and 288, f. 170-1, with Camden's *Annals*, 8vo, 1630, pp. 105-6); but he was imprisoned in the Tower for the part he took therein; from whence, under date of March 19, 1588, he writes to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179).

"He presented to the library of Winchester College the following seven works¹: firstly, on Aug. 22, 1601, *Concordantie Bibliorum*, being a concordance of the Holy Scriptures after the Latin Vulgate, fol. 1600, and 'The Common Places of Dr Peter Martyr' translated by Anthonie Marten, one of the Sewers of hir Maiesties most honorable Privy Chamber, fol. London 1574: secondly, on Feb. 21, 1609, a copy of *Cranmer's, or the Bishops' Bible*,—in compliance with the injunction of his mother, to whom it belonged, and who gave it to him at the time of her death, which happened on Sept. 22, 1604. This copy of the English translation of the Old and New Testaments, black-letter, fol. 1541, is in five parts, separately bound, in thin covers of vellum; and each part having a separate title-page, that of Part I only being wanting. On the outer sides of each cover is stamped, in gold lettering, 'Dorothie Stafforde.' At a sale, in August 1857, at Messrs Sotheby and Wilkinson's, a complete copy of this edition of *Cranmer's Bible* sold for 90*l*. Thirdly, on May 30, 1612, *A General Historie of the Netherlands*, by Edward Grimeston, fol. London, 1608. This and the two following works bear his autograph written on the title-page thus: 'W. Stafforde'—*A General Inventorie of the History of France to the Treaty of Vervins* in 1598, by Ihon de Serres; translated by Edward Grimeston, fol., London, 1607; *The General Historie of the Turks*, by Richard Knolles, fol., London, 1603; and *Tortura Torti* by Lancelot Andrews, D.D., Bishop of Ely (being an answer to the treatise of Cardinal Bellarmin on King James's *Defence of the Right of Kings*), 4to, London, 1609.

"About the year 1593 he married Ann, daughter of Thomas Gryme of Antingham, Norfolk; after which time, he resided chiefly in Norfolk. He died on Nov. 16, 10 Jac. 1612 (*Inq. P. M.* 1 Car. p. 1, No. 97), leaving,—with a daughter Dorothy, who became the wife of Thomas Tyndale, Esq., of Eastwood Park, Gloucestershire, and ancestress of the Tyndales of Bathford, Somersetshire—an only son, William Stafford, who was born about Sept. 30, 1594; became a student of Christ Church, Oxford, and was made M.A. March 5, 1617-8. On the death of his uncle, Sir John Stafford, Knt., *s. p.* in 1624, he succeeded to the estate of Marlwood Park, in Thornbury,

¹ Why didn't he present too his own tract, if he wrote the *Briefe Conceipt* in 1581?

Forewords. Our Wm. Stafford not identifiable. xiii

Gloucestershire, under the limitations of the royal grant, dated June 5, 26 Eliz. 1584, of that property to Lady Dorothy Stafford for her life, with remainders : firstly to her younger son John, and his issue ; then to her Son William, and his issue male ; then to Sir Edward Stafford, Knt.; her Son and heir apparent, and his issue male ; then to the heirs of the body of the said Lady Dorothy (*Pat. Roll*, 26 Eliz. p. 16). He was the author of a little pamphlet, entitled '*Reasons of the War*, or an orderly and plain narration of the beginning and causes of the War, with a conscientious Resolution against the Parliament Side,' printed in 1644. The issue of this William Stafford became extinct in the male line on the death of his grandson Edward Stafford, Esq., *s.p.*, who died at Constantinople in August 1720. (*Decrees enrolled in Chancery*, 12 Geo. I. p. 39.) B. W. GREENFIELD, *Southampton*."

Stafford's tract was also reprinted in the ninth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*.

As to Stafford's rank or profession, he calls himself Gent[leman] on his title-page ; and he elsewhere, as his Doctor, takes the character of a layman. If he was really one, we must admit that in his Doctor's last long speech, p. 91-7, he was speaking dramatically ; for surely, only as a parson could he have there uttered what he does, or proposd a General Council, with a representative appointed for the Whore of Babylon (the Pope, p. 99), as the best means of settling the religious differences in England. He says but little of himself in his Dedication, p. 3-4 below. I can find no further trace¹ of him.

For bearing the cost of the present Reprint, the Society is indebted to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Derby, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c., and one of the Vice-Presidents of the New Shakspeare Society. But Lord Derby is in no way responsible for the choice of the book, or any of the opinions expresst in the original edition or this Reprint. He was good enough to leave to me the application of his money gift ; and he will not see the present edition till it is issued complete. In the name of all our Members I thank Lord Derby for his present to us. May other Members soon follow the example of him and Prince Leopold !

To my friend and colleague, Mr F. D. Matthew, for his valuable *Introduction*, and to my friend Miss Isabel Marshall, for her indexes, my thanks are hereby returnd.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3 St George's Sq., N.W., July 10, 1876.

¹ I assume that he was not the 'Wm Stafford, B.D. 1537,' who 'was prior of the Dominicans at Stamford, and, with 8 friars, surrenderd that house to the King, 7 Oct. 1538.'—Cooper's *Ath. Cant.*

Extracts from Stowe as to the Rains and Dearth in 1594-5.

Stow's Annales, continued by Edm. Howes to 1614, ed. 1615, p. 768, col. 2 :

Great raynes

Bridges at Cambridge and at Ware borne downe.

Price of graine greate, when God sends plenty.

1595.
Dearth of corn & other victual.

Disordered youths punished.

Dearth of victuals.

(36 Eliz. A.D. 1594.) This yeare in the moneth of May, fell many great showres of rayne, but in the moneths of June and July, much more: for it commonlie rained euery day, or night, till S. *James* day, and 2 dayes after together most extreemely, all which notwithstanding, in the moneth of August, there followed a faire haruest, but in the moneth of September fell great raynes, which raised high Waters, such as stayed the carriages, and bare downe Bridges, at Cambridge, Ware, and elsewhere, in many places. Also the price of grayne grew to bee such, as a strike or bushell of Rie was sold for 5.s., a bushell of Wheat for sixe, seauen, or eyght shillings, &c., for still it rose in price: which **dearth** happened (after the common opinion) more by meanes of ouermuch transporting, by our owne Marchants for their priuate gaine, than through the vnseasonableness of the weather passed.

This yeere, by meanes of the late transporting of graine into forraine countries, the same was here growne to an excessiue price, as in some places from 14 shillings to 4 markes the quarter, and more, *as the poore did feele; for all things els, whatsoever was sustenance for man, was likewise raised without all conscience and reason.* For remedie whereof, our marchants brought backe from Danske much Rie, and some Wheate (not of the best) but passing deare, yet serued the turne in such extremitie: Some prentises & other young people about the citie of London, *being pinched of their victuals more then they hadde beene accustomed,* tooke from the market people in Southwarke, butter for their money, paying for the same but three pence the pound, whereas the owners would have had 5 pence. For the which disorder, the sayd young men, on the twenty-seuen of June, were punished by whipping, setting on the pillorie, and long imprisonment

In this time of **dearth** and scarcity of victuals, at London, an hens eg was sold for a peny,—or three eggs for two pence at the most,—a pound of sweet butter for 7.d., and so the like of fish or flesh, exceeding measure in price: such was our sins deseruing it.¹

¹ The price of pepper, raisins, and wine, in 1598, we get from a passage on p. 786, col. 1:—

This yeere, against Christmas, *Pepper* was solde at London for eight shilling the pounce, a matter then much noted . . . Also raysons was this yeare sold for six pence the pounce: Gascoine wine, two shillings eight pence the gallon, and sweete Wines for foure shillings the Gallon, &c.

An. reg. 40.
Pepper 8.s. the pound.

ib. p. 782, col. 1. *An. reg.* 39. A.D. 1597. This Sommer, by reason of much rayne, and great floods, corne waxed scant, so as in London wheate was sould for tenne shillings a bushell, and Rye for six shillings, and Oate-meale at eight shillings a bushell.

A Dearth of corne.

In this moneth of August, the price of Wheate at London fell from xiii shillings the bushell, to tenne shillings: Rie, from nine shillings to sixe shillings, and so to three shillings two pence; but then arose againe the late greatest price.

Great prizes of bred Corne.

p. xi. *William Stafford* (2), *Lady Dorothy Stafford's son*. The first letter from him among the Domestic State Papers is dated June 10, 1585, at Dieppe.

"Wm. Stafford to Secretary Walsingham.

"Pray stand my friend, and excuse me to my mother, who, though without cause, will be very angry with me for this sudden departure. I am now, as ever, at your command, and there is no other man living to whom I am beholden. If I should live to see my blood shed in your cause, I should think it but some recompence for the great good I have received at your hands." [Mrs Green's abstract.] Vol. of *Addenda*, Elizabeth, *Domestic State Papers*, p. 144.

In the first part of Stafford's confession, speaking of his conversation with Chasteauneuf, the French Ambassador to England, and his (W. S.'s) desire to go to France, he says: "He promised me letters of credit to those who would do me good, but said I must continue in my brother's favour, lest I should be suspected."—*Ibid.* p. 200. That his brother was Sir Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador in France, appears from the account of the conference with the French Ambassador about the discovery of the plot, *ibid.* p. 200.

A letter from Henry Smith to his brother Thos. Wilks at the Hague, Jan. 26, 1587, speaks of the "new conspiracy discovered of late;" and goes on to say that "Lady Stafford and Drury are commanded from the Court, and it is thought they will hardly be re-admitted."—*Ibid.* p. 203.

A letter from Wm. Stafford to Walsingham (making further disclosures), dated the Tower, 19th March, 1588, shows that Stafford was then still in prison (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179). A certificate by the Lieut. of the Tower, in August, 1588 (p. x, note, above), shows he was among the prisoners then.—*Ibid.* Vol. 215, 14 Aug. 1588.

In Stafford's confession or account of his dealings with the French Ambassador and others as to the plot, in conversation with Des Trappes, one of the plotters, the latter urges: "Mr Stafford, if you wold undertake this matter, whoe live so discontentedlie as you doe, and not likelie anie way to enioye the favor and reward due unto your personne;" and goes on with the argument that he would gain the good will of all the Queen of Scots' allies, and a pension from the Pope.—*Ibid.* Vol. 197, 1587 (15), fo. 31.

From a list "of all such prisonners as remaine under my chardge and custodie," sent in by the Lieut. of the Tower. ? 14 August, 1588.

"January 15, 1586. William Staffoord & Mychaell Moodie gent. prisonners one yeare vij monthes for practising with the French ambassador."

William Stafford was connected with the Queen through his father's first wife, who was Mary Boleyn, sister to Anne Boleyn the Queen's mother.

INTRODUCTION

BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW, ESQ.

IN all statements of grievances it is necessary to make allowance for exaggeration, and this tract is no exception to the rule. When we come to examine closely the troubles of the different states whose members take part in this dialogue, we do not discover any very substantial wrong. The general complaint is of 'dearth,' but dearth is used throughout only in the sense of high prices. The capper has to pay high wages; the merchant finds a rise in the goods he imports, and the gentleman in those he buys; while the husbandman suffers from enhanced rents, and from the high price of implements and clothing. In the discussion we find that the only one who has a distinct loss to show is the Knight; part of whose lands are still let on old leases, so that his income is not increased in proportion to the general advance. On the other hand we see evidence that at least a part of the community was thriving, since comforts and luxuries, formerly uncommon, were now widely sold and used (p. 51). The smaller conveniences of civilized life, such as glass, china, and earthenware, watches, and ornaments of all sorts, were in the hands of people whose fathers would not have dreamed of indulging in such extravagance.¹ Serving men were fewer, since the gentry no longer needed a private guard, but they were better fed and clothed than they had been (p. 64). More was spent than formerly on the building and adornment of houses, and on furniture and hangings (p. 66). Such signs of prosperity might be delusive. A splendid court and an extravagant nobility may exist among a struggling and impoverished people. But wages had risen, while provisions do not seem to have been high; at least in relation to other things. "These many yeares past," we are told, "we had Come good cheape inough," and there was no scarcity of meat (p. 43).

In these complaints, where high prices and costly living are

¹ Compare Harrison's *England*, Book 2, chap. 12, p. 239, &c., N. Sh. Soc.

equally prominent grievances, we recognize a kind of talk familiar enough to our own ears. In our time the gold discoveries in Russia, America and Australia have raised prices and altered some relations. Persons with fixed incomes have suffered, and grumbling has not been confined to them, but is often to be heard from those who on the whole have benefited by the fall in the precious metals. A diminution in the exchangeable value of coin, such as has marked the past 40 years, was going on in the 16th century, and it must have been felt more painfully then than now ; since, not only was there the disorganization and discomfort which accompanies all social changes, but there was also a positive loss to the country as the new state of things was forced upon it. For, in one point there is a great difference in the circumstances of England now and then. At present the mercantile position of England is such that the new gold has flowed from the producing countries direct to us, and through us to the rest of the world. In the 16th century, the first European country to receive the new treasure was Spain : thence it spread over the continent, and came at last to us, mostly through Flanders. Now it is evident that for purposes of international trade, the nearer you are to the source of new treasure, and the sooner prices rise, the better. If goods have gone up in Flanders while they are still at their old price in England, we must send over our cheap goods to buy their dear ones. In time, prices will find their level, but meanwhile we are trading at a loss.¹ This was the state of things in the 16th century, and the change in prices was accordingly worse for Englishmen then than it has been in the 19th.

There is one class of men whose spokesman would have been more welcome to us in this conversation than to the well-to-do and respectable company assembled at the vintner's. A shrewd representative of the country labourer might have had more solid grievance to dilate upon than any mentioned here. The inclosures which are so strongly blamed, while they were raising the value of the returns from the soil, were pressing hard upon the labourers and cottars. It must be remembered that inclosure was not exactly the same thing then as now. At present it means usually bringing into cultivation waste or rough pasture. At that time, although proprietary rights over land were well defined, yet the effects of the ancient holding in common were much more evident than in our day. In many places the small proprietor had his plots of land

¹ Compare the remarks of the Doctor on keeping down prices (p. 83).

scattered about the common, as they had been assigned to his ancestor. No hedges protected them from cattle ; indeed it would have been as difficult to fence them as it would be now to do the same thing for the holdings of the French peasant (pp. 46 and 86). When the common was to be enclosed it was necessary to get rid of these tilled lands, and the lords of manors were not always scrupulous as to the means by which they accomplished this object.¹ Moreover, the peasant driven out of his holding found it difficult to get work for himself and his family ; since the pastures employed but few hands, and ploughs were being laid down on every side (p. 16). Still it is not to be supposed that the results of inclosure were altogether bad. The large demand for wool and leather made grazing profitable, while the increase of stock raised largely the return of corn on the lands still under tillage ; "one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two most commonly were wont to do." It is easy to imagine that in many cases small bits of arable in the hands of a poor man who had no stock were an unprofitable possession, which he was not unwilling to sell to his wealthier neighbour. We may judge that the process, in spite of individual hardship, was on the whole beneficial, by our author's own words, "we see the countryes where most Inclosiers be, are most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, Northamptonshyre," &c. (p. 40).

When we come to Stafford's views as to the causes and remedies of existing evils, we find a curious mixture of acuteness and prejudice. Naturally enough he believed, as every one did then, that it is desirable to gather as much gold and silver into the realm as possible. He would gladly prevent its exportation, but is shrewd enough to recognize that no laws can prevent its going where it is most called for. On the currency he shows a sanity which is not to be met with in all modern writers on the subject. In pointing out how the debasement of the coin raised prices, and still more in his clear statement of the purpose of coinage (p. 60), his explanations are admirable. His comparison with the town-seal on cloth is true and to the point. But immediately afterwards we find him straying into doubtful paths, led away by his horror of paying foreigners for work that could be done at home. If we cannot sell only for hard cash, he thinks, we should at least

¹ Ergo ut unus helluo inexplibilis ac dira pestis patriæ, continuatis agris, aliquot millia jugerum uno circundet septo, ejiciuntur coloni, quidam suis etiam, aut circumscripti fraude aut vi oppressi exuuntur, aut fatigati injuriis adiguntur ad venditionem.—*Utopia*, lib. I.

get in return for our produce something of intrinsic value as to raw material. To pay foreigners for mere work, even though they do it better and cheaper than we could at home, is a waste of treasure. Worst of all is it when we sell to foreigners our raw material and buy it back manufactured. This discussion, besides being curious as an early statement of the theories which were to govern our mercantile legislation for more than two centuries, is interesting, as showing the advantage of a large scale of manufacture and a trained body of workmen, even before the introduction of machinery. Only superior skill and a more economical use of labour can have enabled the Flemings using our own wool to undersell us in our own markets. Stafford's proposal to neutralize their advantages by Customs duties, so as at once to lessen our most profitable trade and make our cloth dearer, seems in curious contrast to the sensible advice that he gives as to free trade in corn. But the contrast is only apparent: in both cases he is a shrewd empiric, trying a quick way to ends he desires. He is nearer the mark when he attributes our weakness in manufactures¹ to the narrow exclusiveness of the trade guilds. These bodies, which served a good purpose in their first growth, and which as yet showed no signs of the splendid uselessness that awaited them, were already tainted with the common vice of corporations; regarding as their first object the selfish interests of their members, so that in their care for monopoly they refused opportunities of improvement. The strangers who "were better workmen than were any in the town" received no welcome from a guild, which cared more for its privileges than the advancement of its craft; while close organization prevented the individual master from using the skill of the new comers to forward his private interest. The smaller the community the more fatal was this exclusiveness. Great cities like Ghent or Bruges might have activity enough in their staple trades to ensure advance and improvement, but a manufacture in the hands of a few monopolists must fall into routine and decay. It was here rather than in alteration of the Customs; in greater freedom, not in more restriction, that there was a chance for England to outstrip the continental manufacturers. When religious persecution drove its victims to our shores, they brought with them instruction, which far more than repaid the hospitality they received.

¹ It is to be noticed that he says that the French are better off for manufactures than we are (p. 70), and that he counts among the things which we *must* import, iron, steel, and salt.

One other point deserves notice as showing how this dialogue reflects the current thought of the time. When the husbandman is made to attribute the advance in prices to the gentlemen who "raise the price of their lands, and take pastures and farms into their hands," he is not speaking merely at random, or from the prejudices of his order, but giving utterance to a widespread opinion. Thus we find in Brinklow's *Complaint*: "This inordinate inhansing of rentys, which is sprong up within fewe yerys past, must nedys make all things deare, as well pertaynyng to the back as to the belly, to the most gret dammage of all the kyngs subjectys, landyd men only except. Yea, and evyn thei themselves were more welthyer whan their landys went at the old pryce. For why? Thei bye all things the dearer, &c."¹ What shows most the hold of this opinion is that the Doctor, who backs up the Knight in his reply to the husbandman on this point (p. 35), himself gives way to the same fancy later, when after ascribing the rise in prices to the debased coinage, he is posed by a reminder that the coin has been restored (p. 82). It is only then, and almost unconsciously, that for a moment he hits upon the true cause of the 'dearth'; "the great store and plenty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of the world far more in these our dayes then ever our forefathers have sene in times past" (p. 82). Here, at agreement with him, I may leave Stafford to speak for himself. To call him a scientific economist would be extravagant; he was not two centuries in advance of his time; but his speculations are always acute, and in the course of them he tells us much of the England of his time.

¹ Brinklow's *Complaint*, p. 10.


A COMPENDI-
ous or briefe examina-
tion of certayne ordinary com-
plaints, of diuers of our country men
in these our dayes: which although
they are in some part vniust & fri-
uolous, yet are they all by vway of dia-
logues thoroughly debated &
discussed.

By W. S.
Gentleman.

IMPRINTED
at London in Fleetstreate,
neere vnto Saincte Dun-
stones Church, by Tho-
mas Marfhe.

1581.

Cum Priuilegio.

 On the back of the original Title-page is a cut of the arms of Queen Elizabeth, of which my friend Mr G. E. Cokayne, Lancaster Herald, has kindly given me the following blazon: "Quarterly, 1st and 4th, France, viz. Azure, three fleurs de lis, or; 2nd and 3rd, England, viz. Gules, three lions passant guardant, in pale, or; the whole surrounded with the Garter, surmounted with the Crown of England." The letters 'E. R.' are placed underneath. I haven't thought it worth while to get either this or the elaborate frame-work of the original Title-page itself copied and cut. The present Title-border is therefore not a facsimile, but is made up of the ornament so frequently seen in Elizabethan books. The old initials in the tract are from those us'd in my Andrew Boorde for the Early English Text Society.—F. J. F.]

'TO THE MOST VER-

[¹ This page is
registered **]

tuous and learned Lady, my most
deare and Soueraigne Princess ELI-
ZABETH, by the Grace of God,
Queene of England, Fraunce, and
 Ireland : Defendresse of the
 Fayth. &c.



Hereas there was neuer anye thing hearde of in any age past hetherunto, so perfectly wrought and framed, eyther by Arte or Nature, but that it hath at some time, for some forged and furnished matter, sustayned the reprehension of some enuious persons or other : I doe not much meruayle, most mighty Princess, that in this your so noble & famous a gouernment, (the Glory whereof is now longe sithence scattered and spread ouer the whole face of the Earth,) there are, notwithstanding, certayne euill-disposed people, so blinded with malice, and subdued to their owne parciall Conceiptes ; that as yet they can neyther spare indifferente iudgements to conceyue, or reuerent tongues to reporte a known truth, touching the perfection of the same. But for these men, as they are (no doubt) sufficiently refuted by the testimonies of their owne consciences : so are they most certainly condemned by the common consent of all such as are wyse or indifferent. And although this be of it selfe so cleare and manifest that it cannot bee denied, yet could not I forbear (most renowned soueraigne) being as it were inforced by your Maiesties late & singular clemency in pardoning certayne my vndutifull misdemeanour, but seeke to acknowledge your gracious goodnesse and bounty towards me by exhibiting vnto you this small and simple present : wherein as I haue in²deuoured in fewe wordes to aunswere certayne quarells and obiections dayly and ordinarily occurrent in the talke of fundry men, so doe I most humbly craue your Graces fauourable acceptation

[² leaf **, back]

thereof: proteſtinge alſo with all humility, that my meaninge is not in the diſcourſe of theſe matters heere diſputed, to define ought which may in any wiſe ſounde preiudiciall to any publicke authority, but only to alleadge ſuch probability as I coulde, to ſtop the mouthes of certayne euill-affected perſons, which of their curioſity require farther ſatiſfaction in theſe matters, then can well ſtand with good modeſty. Wherefore as vpon this zeale & good meaning towards your eſtate, I was earneſtly moued to vndertake this enterpriſe, and in the handlinge thereof rather content to ſhewe myſelfe vnſkilfull to others, then vnthankfull to you: ſo preſuminge of your auncient accuſtomed clemency, I was ſo bould to commit the ſame to your gracious proteſtion, fully perſwading and aſſuring myſelf, that it would generally obtayne the better credit & entertainment among others, if your Maieſties name were prefixed, a[n]d it were a moſt rich Iewell and rare Ornament to beautifie and commend the ſame. God preferue your Maieſty with infinit increaſe of all his bleſſings beſtowed vpon you, and graunt that your dayes of life here vpon the earth may be extended (if it be his good will) euen far beyonde the ordinary courſe of Nature: that as you haue already ſufficiently rayghned for your owne honour and glory to laſt withall poſterities: ſo you may continew and remaine with vs many more yeares, euen to the full contentation (if it may ſo be) of vs your louing ſubiects, and to the perfect eſtabliſhing of this flouriſhing peace & tranquillity in your common weale for euer.

Y O V R M A I E S T I E S

moſt faythfull and

louing Subiect

W. S.

¹A Table of thynges

most notable contained

in this Booke.

[¹ This leaf is
registered **ij]



Hat no man is a straunger to the Common- weale that he is in.	1.a [p. 11]
That of many heads is gathered a perfect coun- fayle.	1.b [p. 12]
That euery man is to be credited in his owne arte.	1.b [p. 12]
Why the Booke is made by way of dialogue.	2.a [p. 12]
The summe of the whole Booke.	2.a [p. 13]
That men are not borne to themselues onely.	3.a [p. 15]
The complaint of Inclosures by husbandmen.	3.b [p. 15]
The complaint of dearth of victuall by artificers.	3.b [p. 16]
The complaint of the decay of townes by Marchauntmen, and of all other common easements.	4.a [p. 16]
That many superfluous charges are layde downe, and yet neuer the more plenty.	4.a [p. 16]
Of dearth of outward marchaundise.	4.a [p. 16]
Of dearth of all kinde of victuall.	4.a [p. 17]
That Inclosures should not be the cause of this dearth.	4.b [p. 17]
That Gentlemen feele most grieve by this dearth.	4.b [p. 17]
The complaint of craftesmen against Gentlemen for taking of fearmes.	4.b [p. 17]
The craftmans complaint that hee cannot set men a-worke for the dearth of victuall.	5.a [p. 18]
The Gentlemans complaint how he cannot kepe like coun- tenaunce as he was wont to doe.	5.a [p. 18]
Why Gentlemen doe gieue ouer their houtholdes.	5.b [p. 19]
Why Gentlemen doe take fearmes to their handes.	5.b [p. 19]
A complaint against Sheepe.	5.b [p. 19]
The Doctors complaint for men of his sorte.	6.a [p. 19]
A complaint against learned men.	6.a [p. 20]

Why learning should be like to decay hereafter.	6.b [p. 20]
Whether a common weale may bee well gouerned without learning.	6.b [p. 21]
That the learned haue alwaies had the fouerainty ouer the vnlearned.	7.a [p. 21]
Whether a man may be wife without learning.	7.a [p. 21]
That learning supplieth the lacke of experience, and that experience is the father of Wisedome.	7.a [p. 22]
The wonderfull gyftes that we haue by learning.	8.a [p. 23]
That there is no faculty but is made more consummate by learninge.	8.b [p. 23]
How Cæsar excelled al other captains, by reason of his great learning ioyned with his prowesse.	8.b [p. 24]
¹ That knowledge in morall Philosophie is moste necessary for a Counsaillour.	9.a [p. 24]
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the third di-
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FINIS.

A Briefe conceipte touching
 THE COMMON WEALE
 OF THIS REALME
 OF ENGLAND.

[Fol. 1]



CONSIDERING THE diuerſe and ſundry complaints of our countreimen in theſe our daies, touching the great alteration of this *common* wealth, within the compaſſe of theſe few yeres lately paſt, I thought good at this time to ſet downe ſuch probable diſcourſe for the occaſion hereof, as I haue hearde oftentimes vttered by men of ſounde learnyng and deepe iudgement. And albeit I am not one to whome the conſideration and reformation of the ſame doth eſpecially belong; yet, knowing my ſelfe to bee a Member of the ſame Common weale, and to further it by all the wayes that poſſibly I may, I cannot reckon and account my ſelfe a meere ſtraunger to this matter; no more than a man that were in a Shippe, which being in daunger of wracke, might ſay, that becauſe he is not (percaſe) the maiſter or Pylate of the ſame, the daunger thereof doth pertayne nothing at all to him. Therefore, hauinge nowe ſuffycient leaſure from other buſineſſe, mee thought I coulde not apply my ſtudy to a better end then to publiſhe & make relation of ſuch matters as I haue hearde throughly diſputed herein.

No man is
 ſtraunger to
 the common-
 weale he is
 in.

Fiſt, what thinges men are moſt grieved with; than, what ſhould bee the occaſion of the ſame; And that knowne, how ſuch greues may bee taken away, and the ſtate of the Common weale reformed agayne. And albeit yee might well ſay, that there be men of greater wittes then I, that ¹haue that matter in charge, yet Fooles (as the Prouerbe is) ſometimes ſpeake to the purpoſe: and, as many heads, ſo many wittes; and therefore Princes, though they bee neuer ſo wyſe themſelues, (as our moſt excellent Prynce is,) yet the wiſer that they be, the moe counſellers they will haue, (as our noble and gracious Queene doth daily make choyſe of more,) for that that one cannot

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Of many
heades is ga-
thered a per-
fect counsell.

That euery
man is to be
credited in
his owne
arte.

[* Fol 2]

Why the
Booke is
made by
way of Dia-
logue.

perceane, another doth discouer; the giftes of wits be so diuerse, that some excelles in Memory, some in Inuention, some in Iudgement, some at *the* first sight ready, & some after long consideration; & though each of these by them selues do not severally make perfit the matter, yet when euery man bryngs in his gyfte, a meane witted man may of all these (the best of euery mans deuise being gathered together) make, as it were, a pleasaunt and perfect Garlonde, to adorne and Decke his head with all. Therefore, I would not onely haue learned men, whose Iudgements I would wyshe to bee cheyfly esteemed herein; but also Marchaunt men, Husbandmen, & Artificers, which in their callings are taken wyse, freely suffered, yea, and prouoked to tell their Aduyses in this matter. For some poyntes in their feates they may disclose, that the wyfist in a Realme cannot vnfoulde againe. And it is a Maxime, or a thinge receyued as an infallible verity among all men, that euery man is to bee credited in that Arte that hee is most exercysed in. For did not *Apelles*, that excellent Paynter, consider, *that* when hee layde forth his fyne Image of *Venus* to bee seene of euery man *that* past by, to the intent, he hearing euery mans iudgement in his owne Arte, might alwayes amend that was a myse in his worke, whose Censures hee allowed, so longe as they kept them within their owne Faculties, and tooke not vppon them to meddle with an other mans Arte; so, percase, I may be aunswered as hee was, yet I refuse not that, if I passe ¹my compasse; but, for as much as most of this matter contayneth Pollicy, or good gouernment of a common weale, beinge a Member of Philosophy moral, wherein I haue somewhat studyed, I shall bee so bolde with my countrey men, who I doubt not will construe euery thinge to the best, as to vtter my poore and simple conceipt herein, which I haue gathered out of the talke of diuers and fundry notable men that I haue hearde reason on this matter; and though I should herein, percase, moue some thinges that were openlye not to bee touched, as in such cafes of disceptacion is requisite, yet, hauinge respect to what ende they bee spoken, I trust they can offend no man; for harde were it to heale a soare that a man woulde not haue opened to his Physition, nor yet a surfet that a man woulde not declare the occasion thereof. Therefore, now to goe to the matter, vppon boldnesse of your good acceptation, that kinde of reasoning seemeth to mee best for bouldinge out of the

truth, which is vsed by waye of Dialogues, or colloquyes, where reasons bee made too and froe, as well for the matter intended, as agaynst it. I thought best to take that way in the discourse of this matter, which is, first in recounting the common and vniuerfall grieues that men complayne on now a dayes; secondly, in boulting out the verye causes and occasions of them; thirdly and finally, in deuisinge of remedies for all the same. Th̄efore, I will declare vnto you what communication a Knight had betweene him & certayne other persons of late, about this matter, which, because it happened betwene such persons as were Members of euery state *that* finde themselues grieved now a dayes, I thoughte it not meete to bee forgotten, to lett you vnderstand that *the* persons were these: A Knight, as I sayde first, a Martchaunt man, a Doctor, a Husbandman, and a Craftes man. And first, the Knight rehearfed *the* communication in this manner en-
suinge:—

The summe of
the whole
Booke.

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THE FIRST DIA- LOGVE.

Knighte.



Fter I and my Fellowes, the Iustices of peace of this Comminalty, had the other day declared the Quenes highnes commission touching diuers matters, & geuen the charge to the enquest; I, being both weary of the heate of the people & noyse of the same, thought to steale to a friendes house of myne in the towne, which selles Wyne,

to the intent to eate a morfell of meate, for I was then fasting, taking with me an honest husbandman, whom, for his honest and good discretion, I loued very well; whither, as we were comue, & had but skant sit downe in a close Parloure, there comes me in a Marchaunte man of that city, a man of estimation and substaunce, and requires the sayde Husbandman to goe and dyne with him; nay, (quoth I) hee wil not, I trust, now forsake my company, though he should fare better with you.

Marchaunt

Than (quoth the marchaunt man) I will send home for a pasty of Venyson that I haue there, & for a friend of mine, and a neighbor, that I had bid to dinner, and wee shalbe so bolde as to make merry withall heere in your company; & as for my guest, hee is no straunger vnto you neyther. And, therefore, both he of yours, & you of his company, I trust wilbe the gladder.

Knight.

Who is it?

Marchaunt.

Doctör *Pandotheus*.

Knight.

Is he so? on my fayth, he shalbe hartely welcome, for of him we shal haue some good communication and wise, for he is noted a learned and a wise man. And immediately *the* Marchaunt sendes for him, and he comes vnto vs, & bryn'geth wyth him an honest man, a Capper of the same towne, who came to speake with the sayd Marchaunt; than, after salutations had (as yee knowe the maner is) betweene me and maister Doctör, and renewinge olde acquayntaunce.

[Fol. 3]

which had bene longe before betweene vs, we sat all downe; and when we had eate somewhat to satisfie the sharpnesse of our stomackes,

On my fayth, quoth the Doctor to me, yee make much a doe, Doctor.
you that be Iustices of the peace of euerie Countrey, in sitting vpon Commissions almost weekly, and in causinge poore men to appear before you, and leauinge theyr husbandry vnlookte to at home.

Surely it is so. Yet the prince must be serued, and the common- Knight.
weale, for God and the prince haue not sent vs the poore lyuinges that we haue, but to doe seruice therefore abroad amonges our Neyghbours.

It is well if yee take it so, for nature hath grafted that perswasion Doctor.
in you, and all other that followes the cleare light of Nature. As learned men haue remembred, saying, we be not borne onely to our felues, but partly to the vse of our Countrey, of our Parentes, of our Kinsfolkes, and partly of our Friendes and Neyghbours; and, therefore, all good vertues are grafted in vs naturally, whose effects be to doe good to other, wherein we shewe forth the Image of God and man, whose property is euer to doe good to other, and to distribute his goodnesse abroad, lyke no Nygarde nor enuyous of any. Other creatures, as they refemble nothing of that godly Image, so they study no common vtility of other, but onely the conseruation of them felues, and propagation of their owne kynde. Wherefore, if we looke to be reckned most vnylike them, being most vyle, and lykest to God, being most excellent, let vs study to doe good to other, not preferring the ease of this Carkasse, which is like the Brute beastes, but rather the vertues of the minde, wherein we be lyke God him selfe.

That men are
not borne to
themselves
onely.

¹Then, (sayd the Husbandman) for all your paynes, (meaning by Husband.
me) & all oures also, I would yee had neuer worse Commissions in [Fol. 3, back]
hand then this is. So wee had lost more dayes workes at our Husbandry then this.

Why so?

Knight.

Mary, for these Inclosures doe vndoe vs all; for they make vs to Husband.
pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, & causes that we can haue no lande in manner for our money to put to Tyllage; all is taken vp for Pasture; for Pasture eyther for Sheepe, or for Grafsinge of Cattell; in so much that I haue knowne of late a dozen ploughes, within lesse compasse then fixe Myles about mee, layde downe within this seven

Complaynt of
Inclosures by
Husbandmen.

yeares; and where three score persons or vpward had their liuings, now one man with his Cattell hath all, which thinge is not the leaft cause of former vprores; for, by these Inclofures many doe lacke lyuings, and be ydle, & therefore for very necessity they are desirous of a chaunge, beinge in hope to come thereby to somewhat, and well assured that howe so euer it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before; more ouer, all things are so deere, that by their day wages they are not able to lyue.

Capper.

Complaynt of
dearth of vit-
tayle by Arti-
ficers.

I haue well *the* experience thereof, for I am fayne to geue my Iourneimen two pence in a day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they say they cannot sufficiently liue thereon. And I know, for truth, that the best husbände of them can saue but litle at the yeares end; and by reason of such dearth as yee speake of, wee, that are Artificers, are able to keepe but fewe or no Prentizes, like as wee were wont to doe; and, therefore, Cityes which were heretofore well inhabited and wealthy (as yee know euery one of you) are now, for lacke of occupiers, fallen to great pouerty and desolation.

Marchaunt.
[¹ Fol. 4]

Complaynt of
townes by
Marchaunt men
& of all other
common ease-
mentes.

Many superfluous
charges
layde downe
and yet neuer
the more plenty.

Dearth of out-
warde Marchaundize.

So bee the most part of all *the* townes of England, Lon¹don onely except; and not onely the good townes are fore decayed in there Howses, Walles, Streates, and other buildings, but also the countrey in their high wayes & Brydges; for such pouerty rayneth euery where, that few men haue so much to spare, as they may geue any thing to the reparation of such wayes, brydges, and other common easements; and, albeit there bee many things layde downe now which before time were occasions of much expences, as Maygames, Wakes, Reuels, wagers at shooting, wrestling, running, and throwing the stone or barre, & besides that, Pardons, Pylgrimages, Offerings, and many such other things, yet I perceyue wee bee neuer the wealthier, but rather poorer; whereof it is longe, I cannot well tell, for there is such a generall dearth of all things, as before .xx. or .xxx. yeares hath not bene the like, not onely of thinges growinge within this Realme, but also of all other Marchaundize that wee buy from beyond the Sea, as Sylkes, Wynes, Oyles, Woode, Madder, Yron, Steele, Waxe, Flaxe, Linnen cloth, Fustians, Worsteddes, Couerlets, Carpets, and all Hearfes, & Tapestry, Spices of all sort; and al Haberdasher ware, as Paper, both white & browne; Glasses, aswell drinckinge and looking, as for glasinge of Windowes; Pinnes, Needles, Kniues, Dag-

gers, Hats, Cappes, Broches, Buttons, and Laces. I wot well all theſe doe coſt nowe more by the thyrde parte than they did but fewe yeares agoe; than, all kinde of Viſtaylor are as deere, or dearer agayne, & no cauſe of Gods parte thereof, as farre as I can perceaue, for I neuer ſawe more plenty of Corne, graſſe, and Cattell of all ſortes, than wee haue at this preſent, and haue had (as yee know) all theſe twenty yeares paſſed continually, thanked bee our Lorde God; if theſe Incloſures were cauſe thereof, or any other thinge els, it were pity but they might be remooued.

Dearth or at-
kinde of viſ-
taylor.

Synce yee haue plenty of all thinges, of Corne & Cat'tell, (as yee ſay) then it ſhould not ſeeme this dearth ſhould be longe of theſe Incloſures, for it is not for ſcarcenefſe of Corne *that* yee haue this dearth, for, thanked bee God, Corne is good cheape, and ſo hath bene theſe many yeares paſt continually. Than it cannot bee the occaſion of the dearth of Cattell, for Incloſure is the thing that nour- iſheth moſt of any other; yet I confeſſe there is a wonderfull dearth of all thinges, and that do I, and all men of my ſorte, feele moſt greife in, which haue no way to ſell, or occupation to lyue by, but onely our landes. For you all three,—I meane you, my neyghbour the huſbandman, you, maiſter Mercer, and you, goodman Capper, *with* other Artificers,—may ſaue your ſelues meetely well. For- aſmuch as all thinges are dearer then they were, ſo much doe you aryſe in the pryce of your wares and occupations that yee ſell agayne. But we haue nothing to ſell, whereby we might aduaunce *the* pryce thereof to counterualue thoſe thinges that we muſt buy agayne.

Knighte.
[† Fol. 4, back]

That incloſu-
res be not the
cauſe of this
dearth.

That Gentle-
men feele moſt
griefe by this
dearth.

Yes, yee rayſe the price of your Landes, and yee take Fermes alſo and paſtures to your hands (which was wont to bee poore mens lyuings, ſuch as I am), and haue geuen ouer to liue onely vpon your Landes.

Huſband.

On my ſoule, yee ſay truth (quoth the Marchaunte), and the Capper alſo ſayd no leſſe; adding thereto, that it was neuer merry with poore Crafts men ſince Gentlemen became Graſiers; for they cannot now a dayes (ſayde he) finde theyr Prentizes and ſeruauntes meate and drynke, but it coſt them almoſt double aſmuch as did be- fore time; wherefore, where many of myne occupation and other like, heretofore haue dyed ryche men, and bene able to leaue honeſtly

[Capper]

The complain-
t of craftes men
againſt Gentle-
men for taking
of Fermes.

[1 Fol. 5]

The craftes-
mans *complaynt*
that he cannot
set men a vvorke
for the Dearth
of victayle.

behynde them for theyr Wyfe and Children; and besides *that*, leaue some notable bequestes for some good deede, as to *the* making of Brydges, & repaying of high wayes, all which thinges goe to wracke now euery where. Also, some were wont to buy Land, eyther for to helpe the poore beginners ¹of th'occupations, yea, some time they had such superfluity as they could ouer such bequestes leaue an other Portion to finde a Pryste, or to founde a Chauntry in some parishe Church; and now we are skant able to liue without debt, or to keepe few seruauents, or none, except it be one Prentiz or two. And therefore the Iourneymen, what of our occupations, and what of Clothyers, and all other occupations, being forced to be without worke, are *the* most parte of these rude people that maketh these vproes abrode, to the great disquiet, not onely of the Queenes highnes, but also of her people. And neede (as yee knowe) hath no booty.

Marchaunt.

It is true, yee knowe likewise what other notable acts men of myne occupation haue done in this City. Before this, yee knowe the hospitall at the townes ende, wherein the freemen decaied are releaued, how it was founded, not longe agoe, by one of our occupation, supposing therby *that* the city should be much releaued, which then was in some decay; and yet it decayeth still euery day more and more; whereof it should be longe, I cannot well tell.

Knight.

The Gentle-
mans *complaynt*
hovv he can-
not keepe lyke
countenaunce
as he vvas
vvont to doe.

Syr, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not *without* cause, fo it is as true that I and my sorte, I meane all Gentlemen, haue as greate, yea, and farre greater cause to complayne then any of you haue; for, as I sayd, nowe that the pryces of thinges are so ryfen of all handes, you may better lyue after your degree then wee, for you may and do rayse the pryce of your wares, as the prifes of vittayles, & other your necessaries doe ryse; and so cannot we so much, for though it bee true that of such landes as come to our handes, eyther by purchase, or by determination, and ending of such termes of yeares, or other Estates, that I or mine auncestors had graunted *them* in time past: I doe eyther receyue a better fine than of olde was vsed; or enhaunse the rent thereof, being forced thereto for *the* charge of my houtholde that is so encreased ouer that it was; yet in all my ²life time I looke not that the thyrd parte of my lande shall come to my disposition, that I may enhance the rent of the same, but it shalbe in mens holding, either by leases, or by copy graunted before my time,

[2 Fol. 5, back]

and still continuing, and yet like to continue in the same state for the most part during my life, and percase my Sonnes; so as we cannot rayse all our wares, as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reason we did; and by reason that we cannot, so many of vs (as yee know) that haue departed out of *the* countrey of late, haue bene driuen to giue ouer our housholds, and to keepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court, vncalled, with a man and a Lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe halfe a score of cleane men in his house, and xx. or xxiii. other persons besides, every day in the weeke; and such of vs as doe abide in the countrey still, cannot with two hundred li. a yeare keepe that house *that* we might haue don with CC. markes but xvi. yeares past. And thearefore we are forced, either to minishe the third part of our househoulde, or to raise the thirde part of our reuenewes; and for that wee cannot so doe of our owne landes, that is alreadye in the hands of other men, many of vs are enforced, either to keepe peeces of our owne Landes when they fall in our owne possession, or to purchase some Farme of other mens landes, and to store it with sheepe, or some other cattell, to help to make vp the decay of our reuenewes, and to mainetayne our oulde estate with all, and yet all is litle ynough.

Why Gentle-
men doe geue
ouer their
housholdes

Why Gentle-
men doth take
Farmes into
their handes

Yea, those sheepe is the cause of all these mischieues, for they haue driuen husbandry out of the countrey, by *the* which was increased before all kinde of victuals; & now all together, sheepe, sheepe, sheepe. It was farre better when there were not onely sheepe ynough, but also Oxen, Kine, swyn, Pig, Goose, & Capon, Egges, Butter & Cheefe; yea, and breade Corne, and Malte corne ynough, besides, reared alltogether vpon the same lande.

Husband.

Complaint a-
gainst sheepe.

Then the Doctor, *that* had leaned on his Elbowe all this ¹while musing, sat vp and sayd, I perceau by you all three, that there is none of you but haue iust cause to complaine.

Doctor.
[1 Fol. 6]

No, by my troth, except it be you, men of *the* church, which trauaile nothing for your lyuinge, and yet haue inough

Capper.

Yee say troth in dede, we haue least cause to complaine: yet yee know well, we be not so plentious as we haue bene, the first fruits & tenthes are deducted of our liuings; yet of the rest we might liue well ynough, if we might haue quietnes of minde & conscience withall. And, albeit we labour not much with our bodies (as yee say,) yet yee

Doctor.

The Doctors
complaynt for
men of his
calling.

know we labour *with* our mindes, more to *the* weaking of *the* fame then by any other bodily exercife we should do, as we may well perceue by our complexions, how wan our colour is, how faint and fickely be our bodyes, & all for lacke of bodily exercife.

Capper.

Complaynt a-
gainst learned
men.

Mary, I woulde if I were of *the* Queenes counsell, prouide for you well a fine, so as you should neede take no diseafe for lacke of exercife; I woulde fet you to the Plough and Carte, for the deuill a whit of good yee doe with your studies, but fet men together by the Eares, some with this opinion, & some with that, some holding this way, & some an other; and *that* so stiffly, as though the troth must be as they say, that haue *the* vpper hand in contention; & this contention is not also *the* least cause of former vproes of *the* people, some holding of *the* one learning, & some of *the* other. In my minde it made no matter, though we had no learned men at all.

Knight.

[¹ orig. houe]

God forbid, neighbour, that it should be so; how should the Prynce haue counsaillers then; how should we haue christian religion taught vs; how shoul[d] we know *the* estats of other realmes, & haue¹ conferenc[e] *with* them of al contryes, except it were throug[h] learning, & by *the* benefit of Letters?

Doctor.

Care not therefore, goodman capper; yee shall haue few ynough of learned men *within* a while, if this world hold on.

Capper.

[² Fol. 6, back]

I meane not but I would haue men to learne to wryt & reade, yea, & to learne *the* languages vsed in countreies about vs, *that* we might write our mindes to *them*, & they to vs; yea, and *that*² wee might reade *the* holy scriptures in our mother tongue; & as for your preaching (except yee agree better), it made no matter howe litle wee had of it, for of dyuerfity thereof cometh these diuerfities of opinions.

Doctor.

Why learning
should be like
to decay here-
after.

Then yee care for no other sciences at all, but the knowledge of tongues, and to wryte & reade; and so it appeares well that yee be not alone of that mynde, for nowe a dayes, when men sendes their sonnes to *the* Uniuerfities, they suffer *them* no longer to tary there, *then* they may haue a litle of the latin tongue; & then they take *them* away, & bestow *them* to be Clarkes with some man of Lawe, or some Auditor and Receyuer, or to be a Secretary with some great man or other, and so to come to a lyuing, whereby the Uniuerfities be in maner emptied, and as I thinke will be occasion that this Realme within a shorte space will be made as empty of wise and polittique

men, and consequently barbarous, and at the last thrall and subiect to other Nations whereof wee were Lordes before.

God forbid that we that bee Gentlemen shoulde not with our pollicy in warre, prouide that we come not in subiection of any other nation; and the stoutnesse of Englyshe heartes will neuer suffer that, though there were no learned men in the Realme at all.

Well, an empyre or a Kingdome is not so much won or kept by the manhode and force of men, as it is by wisedome and policy, which is gotten chiefly by learning; for wee see in all kindes of gouernance, for the most parte, the wyser sorte haue the soueraynty ouer the rude & vnlearned, as in euery house the most expert, in euery City the wisest & most sage, and in euery common weale the most learned, are most commonly placed to gouerne the rest; yea, among all nations of the worlde they that be polytique and ciuile doe mayster the rest, though their forces be inferior to the other. The Emperes of the Greekes & Romaines ¹ doe declare that, among whom, like as learning and wisedome was most esteemed, so the Emperes were spread widest, and longest did continue of all other. And, why should you thinke it straunge, that you might more be vanquished than the other were before time, that reckened themselues as stout men as you be, yea, dwellers of this realme, as the Saxons last were by the Normands, and the Romaines by the Saxons afore that, & the Brytons by the Romaines fyrst of all.

Whether a common weale may be well gouerned without learning.

[1 Fol. 7]

That the learned haue alway the souerainty ouer the vnlearned.

There may bee wyse men ynough, though they bee not learned. I haue knowne diuerse men very wise & politike, that know neuer a letter on the booke; and contrary wise, as many other learned men that haue bene very Idiots in maner for any worldly pollicy that they had.

I deny not that, but I say that if such wyse men as yee speake of had learninge to their wits, they had bene more excellent. And the other, that yee call so simple, had bene foolyshe if they had had no learninge at all. Exercyse in warres maketh not euery man meete to bee a Captayne, though hee trauallyn in it neuer so longe; nor there is no other so apt for the warre, but with experience and vse he is made more perfit; for what maketh olde men commonly more wise than the younger sorte, but their greater experience?

Knighte.

Doctor.

Whether a man may be vvyse without learning.

Yea, experience helpeth much the wit of men, I confesse. But what doth learning thereto

But Knight.

Doctor.

That learning
supplieth the
lacke of expe-
rience, & that
experience is
the father of
Wysedome.

[1 Fol. 7, back]

If yee graunt mee that experience doth help, then I doubte not but yee will graunt mee anon, that learninge doth also help much to the increafe of wifedome; let *that*, then, be set for a sure grounde that experience doth further wifdome, & take it as it were *the* father of wifedome, & memory to be *the* mother. For, like as experience doth beget wifdome as a father, so memory nourisheth it as a mother; for in vaine shoulde experience be had, if *the* same were not kept in remembraunce. Then if I can shew you that both experience and also memory are holpen and furthered by learninge, then yee must needes graunt me, that learning furthers wit and increaseth it; yee confesse the experience of an olde man maketh him wiser than the younge, because hee sawe mo things then the other. But an olde man seeth but onely things of his owne time, & the learned man seeth not onely his owne times experience, but also that befell in a great many of his auncestors, yea, since the worlde began. Wherefore, he must needes haue more experience then the vnlearned man, of what great age so euer he be, then so many cafes as he seeth in all that time to haue happened, coulde not so well be remembred of any man, as it is kept in memory by wrytings; and then if the vnlearned man once forget the thinge hee sawe, hee neuer lightly remembers it againe; where as *the* learned man hath his booke alwayes to call him to remembraunce of that hee should els forget. Therefore, as he that liueth a hundreth yeares must needes haue more experience then hee that liueth fifty², so hee that seeth the chaunces of the worlde as it were in a table paynted afore him of a thousand yeres, must needes haue greater experience then he that liueth but a hundreth. Also he that trauaileth many farre Countryes, bath more experience than other of like age that neuer goeth out of his natiue country. So he that is learned, seeth by Cosmography³, hystories, and other learnings, the right maner & vface of euery countrey in the world, yea, of many moe then is possible for one man to trauayle through, and of these *that* he trauaileth much better, doth he learne there by small taryng, then the other (by longer experience) that are all together and wholly vnlearned, and consequently more wit, being in capacity and memory both els equipolent; & now I am forced to consider the maruaylous gyftes that we haue by learning, that is, how learning supplyeth vn⁴to man the greateft lack *that* some Wryters haue complayned of, to be

[² orig. fifty]

[³ orig. Cosmo-
graphy]

[4 Fol. 8]

in man kinde, that is, the breuity of Age, the grossenesse & wayght of body: where in the first, diuerse beastes, as Hartes and many other, and in the last all Byrdes, doe excell man; for where it is deemed man to liue aboue a hundreth yeares or theare aboutes, by the benefite of learning, he hath the commoditie of the life of a thousand yeares; yea, two or three thousandes, by reason hee seeth *the* euents and occurrences of all that time by Bookes. And if he should haue liued him selfe by all that space, then coulde he haue had nothinge els to his commodity, but that experience of things, the rest had bene but trauallye; which experience he hath nowe by letters, and without any trauallye in manner at all, and without the daungers that he might him selfe haue bene in, if hee had liued by all that space. As to the other poynte, that wee be not so agill and light as fowles & Byrdes of the Ayre bee, as that wee might sturre from on place to an other, wee haue the commodity through learning that wee should purchaie by such Peregrinations, as well as wee should if wee might flee from one Countrey to an other like Byrdes, and yet with lesse trauallye and daunger. May wee not through Cosmography see the situation, temperature, and qualities of euery Countrey in the Worlde, yea, better and with lesse trauallye then if wee might flee ouer them our selues; for that that many other haue learned through their great trauallyes & daungers, they haue left to vs to be learned with ease & pleasure. Can wee not¹ also throughe the science of Astronomy knowe the course of the Planettes aboue, and theyre coniunctions and Aspects, as certaynely as if wee were amonge them? yes, surely that wee may: for tell mee, how came all *the* learned men heare to fore to the exacte and perfit knowledge thereof? came they not to it by conference & marking of circumstances? (yes in deede), so that out of their writings we learned it; ²and to the knowledge whereof by sight onely wee could neuer attayne, though wee were as agill as any Byrde. What is there els profitable or necessary for the coniunct of mans life heare in earth, but in learning it is taughte more perfectly and more compleate than any man can learne onely by experience all dayes of his life? no not so much as your Feate in warre, sir Knight, no, nor your Feate, good Husbandman, but that either of them are so exactly taught and set forth in learning, as that neither of you, both though yee be neuer so perfect in the said Feates but might learne many poyntes

The vvonder-
full gyftes that
vve haue by
learning.

[¹ orig. non]

[² Fol. 8, back]

That there is
no faculty but
is made more
perfect by
learning.

moe than euer yee saw before, by experience in either of them, as you, fir Knight, in *Vigētius*, and you, good Husbandman, in *Columella*.

Knight.

I say agayne, might wee not haue that in our English tongue, & reade them ouer, though we neuer went to schole?

Doctor.

Yea, well ynough, and yet shoulde yee bee farre from the perfect vnderstanding of them, except yee had the help of other sciences, that is to say, of Arithmetique, in disposing and ordering your men; and Geometry, in deuising of Engines to winne Townes and Fortresses, & of Brydges to passe ouer, in the which *Cæsar* excelled other by reason of the learning that hee had in those sciences, and did wonderfull feates which an vnlearned man coulde neuer haue done; and if yee had warre ouer the Sea, howe coulde yee knowe towards what Coastes yee be Sea dryuen, without knowledge of the latitude of the place by the Poale, and the length, by other starres? and you, good husband, for the perfection of the knowlege of husbandry, had neede of some knowledge in Astronomy, as vnder what aspect of the Planets, and in the entry of what signe by the Sunne & Moone, it is time to Eare, to Dounge, to Sowe, to Reape, to Set, to Graffe, to Cut your Wood, your Timber; yea, to haue some iudgment of the Weather that is like to come, for Inning of your Corne and Graffe, and houseinge of your ¹ Cattell; yea, of some part of Phisick, called *Veterinaria*,² where by yee might knowe the diseases of your Beastes, & heale them. Then, for true measuring of lande, had yee not neede of some knowledge in Geometry, to bee a perfit husband? Then for building, what Carpenter or Mason is so cunning or expert, but hee might learne more by readinge of *vitruuius*, and other wryters of *Architecture*, that is to say, the science of building? and to passe ouer the sciences of Logicke & Retorique, whereof the first trauallyeth about the discussion of the true reason from the false, the other about the perswasion of that is to be set forth to the people, as a thinge to them profitable and expedient, whereof a good and perfit counsaylor might want neyther; well, tell mee what counsayl can bee perfit, what common weale can bee well ordered vprighte, where none of the Rulers or Counsaillors haue studied any Philosophy, specially the parte that teacheth of civill manners, (the other part of Philosophy I passe ouer now, which teacheth of the natures, and is called phisicke,) what part of the which teacheth of neglected by Philosophy morall? doth it not teache, common weale is

Hovv Cæsar excelled all other captaines by reason of his great learning ioyned vvith his provesse.

[¹ Fol. 9]

[² orig. *Veterinaria*]

That knowvledge in moral philosophy is most necessary for a counsaillor.

first, how euery man shoulde gouerne him selfe honestly; Secondly, how he should guide his family wifely and profitably? And thirdly, it sheweth how a Cyty or a Realme, or any other common weale should bee well ordered and gouerned, both in time of peace, and also warre. What common weale can bee without either a Gouverner, or Counsaylors, that shoulde bee expert in this kinde of learning; this confirmeth the poynt that wee now talke of; [if] men experte in this Science were consulted and followed, the commen weale shoulde bee ordered, as fewe should haue cause to complayne; therefore sayd *Plato*, that diuine Philosopher, that happy is that Commonweale where either *the* Prince is a Phylofopher, or where a Philosopher is the Prince. Plato.

I had weened before, that there had bene no other learning in the world, but that these men had, that be Doctors of Diuinity, or of the Lawe, or of Phisicke; whereof the first had all his cunning in Preaching, the second in matters of the spirituall lawe, and the third in phisicke, & in looking on diseased mens water; mary, yee tell me now of many other sciences, very necessary for euery common weale, which I neuer heard of before: but eyther there be fewe of these Doctors that can skill of them, or els they disclose but litle of their cunning. Knight.
[x Fol. 9, back]

Of truth there be to fewe of them that can skill of these sciences now a dayes, and of those there be too fewe of them that are esteemed any thing the more for their knowledge therein, or called for to any counsell. And therefore others, seeing these Sciences nothing esteemed or set by, they fall to those sciences that they see in some pryce, as to Diuinity, to the Lawe, and to Phisicke; though they cannot bee perfect in any of these, without the knowledge of the sciences aboue touched; and therefore it is ordayned by Uniuersities, that first men should bee Bachelers and Masters of Artes, ere they should come to Diuinity; and these Artes bee the seuen liberall sciences, as Grammer, Logique, Rhetorique, Arithmetique, Geometry, Musicke, and Astronomy; and now they skip ouer them, and fall to Diuinity by and by, before they haue gotten or purchased them any iudgment through the foresayd sciences, which maketh them to fall to these diuersities of Opinions that ye speake of; for all beginners in euery science be very quicke and ouer-hasty in geuing their iudgment of thinges (as expe Doctor.

What maketh
learned men to
be so fewe.

Younge studi-
ents bee all-
vvaies ouer
hasty in vtter-
ing their iudg-
ments.

Pythagoras commaund-
ed silence
to his disciples
for a time.

[¹ Fol. 10]

Plato commaund-
ed that no
man ignoraunt
in Geometry
should enter
his schoole.

What harme
may come if
they bee suffe-
red to iudge in
things to Whom
it doth not
appertayne.

That it is not
learninge suffi-
cient, to know
the tongues, &
to vvyrite.

[² Fol. 10, back]

rience teacheth euery man); & then, when they haue once vttered their iudgmentes & opinions, they will see nothing that will founde contrary to the same, but eyther they will construe it to their owne phantasy, or vtterly deny it to be of any authority. *Pythagoras*, to his scholers that came to learne his prophane sciences, commaunded silence for seuen yeares, that by all that space they should be hearers onely, and no reasoners: and ¹in this Diuine science, euery Boye that hath not red scripture past halfe a yeare, shalbe suffered, not onely to reason and enquire of things (for that were tollerable), but to affirme newe and straunge interpretations vpon the same, neuer heard of before. What ende of Opinions can there bee while this is suffered? Also *Plato* forbad any man to come to his schoole that was ignoraunt in Geometry; and to this highe schoole of Dyunity, he that knoweth not his Grammer, much lesse any other science, shall be admitted at the first; I say not to learne, for that might bee suffered, but to iudge; and there commeth in the thinge, that the same *Plato* fayeth to bee an onely cause sufficient to ouerthrowe a whole Common weale where it is vsed, that is, when they take on them the iudgment of things to whom it doth not apertayne,—as youth, of thinges belonging to olde men, children ouer their fathers, seruants ouer their maisters, and priuate men ouer their Maiefrates; what Ship can bee longe safe from wracke, where euery man will take vpon him to bee a Pylate? what house well gouerned, where euery seruant will bee a maister and a teacher? I speake thus much of the commendation of learning, not onely because I heard my freind heere (the Capper) set litle by learninge, but also that I see many nowe a dayes of his opinion, which care nothinge for any other knowledge, but onely that they may wryte and reade, and learne the tongues; whom I can resemble well to those men that esteemeth more the Barke then the Tree, the Shale more then the Kyrnell; wherefore, they seeme to take the bright Sunne from the Earth, that would take away learning from vs; for the same is no more necessary for the increase of all thinges on earth, then is learninge for the increase of Ciuility, Wifedome, and Policy amonge men. And asmuch as reasonable men doe excell all other creatures by the gyft of Reason, so much excellet a learned man ²any other, through the polishing and adorning of Reason by these Scyences

Of my fayth, I am glad it was my chaunce to haue you in my Knight. company at this time, for of a wise man a man may alwayes learne. But mee thought yee sayde lately to my neighbour the Capper, that wee should haue learned men few ynough within a while, if *the* world did continue. What ment yee thereby, and what should be *the* cause thereof?

I shewed you all ready one great cause of the same; that was, Doctor. where I shewed you that most men were of that opinion, that they thought learning ynough to write & reade; another cause is, *that* Why learning should decay. they see no preferment ordered for learned men, nor yet any honour or estimation geuen them, like as hath bene in time past. But rather the contrary, *the* more learned, the more troubles, losses, & vexations they come vnto.

God forbid! How so?

Knight.

Mary! haue you not seene how many learned men haue bene put Doctor. to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares, & all for declaring their opinions in thinges that haue ryfen in controuersie? haue you not knowne when one Opinion hath bene set forth, and who so euer sayd against that were put to trouble; and shortly after, when the contrary opinion was furthered and set forth, were not the other *that* prospered before, put to trouble, for saying their mindes against this latter opinion? & so neither of both parties escaped, but eyther first or last hee came to bee hit, of whether side soeuer hee were, except it were some weatherwise fellowes, that coulde chaunge their opinions as *the* more & stronger part did chaunge theirs; and what were they that came to these troubles? the singularest fellowes of both parties; for there came no other to the concertacion of these things, but such, who seeing in steede of honour and preferment, dishonour and hinderance, recompensed for a reward of ¹learning; will any either put his childe to that science that may bring him no better fruite than this? or, what scholer shall haue any courage to ²study to come to that ende? the rarity of scholers and solitude of the Uniuersities doe declare this to be truer then any man *with* speach can declare. [1 Fol. 11.] [2 orig. co]

Then, I perceauie euery man findeth himselfe greeued at this time, Marchaunt. & no man goeth cleare, as farre as I can perceauie. The Gentleman, that hee cannot lyue on his Landes onely, as his father did before; the Artificers cannot set so many a worke, by reason all maner of That euery state findeth himselfe greeued.

[Debasing of
our coin.]

vi&tayle is fo deere; the Hufbandman, by reafon his Lande is deerer rented then before; then we that bee Merchaunts pay much deerer for euery thing that commeth ouer fea; which great derth (I fpeake in comparifon of former times) hath bene alwayes, in a maner, at a ftay, euer after that bafenefle of our Englifh Coyne, which happened in the later yeares of Kyng *Henry* the eyght.

Doctor.

That Marchauntes beft
saue themfel-
ues in euery
alteration.

I doubt not, but if any forte of men haue licked themfelues whole, yee bee the fame; for what oddes fo euer there happen to bee in exchaunge of thinges, yee that bee Marchaunts can efpy it ftraight; for example, becaufe yee touched fomewhat of *that* Coyne, as foone as euer yee perceiue the price of that enhaunfed, yee by and by what was to bee wonne therein beyonde fea; raked all the olde Coyne for *the* moft parte in the Realme, and founde the meanes to haue it caryed ouer, fo as litle was lefte beehinde within this Realme of fuch olde Coyne in a very fhorte fpace, which, in my Opyinion,¹ is a great caufe of this dearth *that* hath bene fince of all thinges.

Of our olde
Coyne exhau-
sted.

[1 orig. Opp-
nion]

Knight.

How can *that* be? what maketh it to the matter what forte of Coyne we haue among our felues, fo it be currant from one hand to another, yea, if it were made of Leather?

Doctor.

[2 Fol. 11, back]

Yea, fo men commonly fay, but the truth is contrary, as not onely I coulde proue by common reafon, but alfo *the* ²prooffe & experience hath already declared the fame; but now we doe not reafon of the caufes of thefe griefes, but what ftates of men bee griued in deede by this dearth of thinges; and albeit I heare euery man finde him felfe griued by it in one thinge or other, yet, confidering *that* as many of them as haue wares to fell, doe enhaunfe as much in *the* pryce of thinges that they fell, as was enhaunfed before in the prices of thinges that they muft buy; as the Marchaunt, if hee buy deere, hee will fell deere againe; fo thefe Artificers, as Cappers, Clothiers, Shomakers, and Farmers, haue refpect large ynough in felling their wares to the price of vi&tayle, Wooll, & Iron, which they buy. I haue fene a Cap for xiiii. pence, as good as I can get now for ii. fhillings fixe pence: of cloth yee haue heard how the price is ryfen. Now, a payre of fhooes coft twelue pence, yet in my time I haue bought a better for fixe pence. Now, I can get neuer a horfe fhooed vnder ten pence or twelue pence, where I haue alfo feene the common pryce was fixe pence. I cannot, therefore, vnderftande that thefe men haue greateft

Whether it
make any mat-
ter of vwhat
mettall the
Coyne bee
made of.

[Rise in prices:
Cap, 14d. to
30d.; shoes, 6d.
to 1s; horse
shod, 6d. to 10d.
or 12d.]

greife by this common and vniuersall dearth, but rather such as haue their Lyuinges and Stypendes rated at a certaynty, as, common Laborers at eight pence a day, Iourneymen of all occupations, serueng men to forty shilings a yeare; and Gentlemen, whose landes are set out by them and their Auncestors, either for lyues or for terme of yeares, so as they cannot enhaunce *the* rentes thereof, though they would, and yet haue the pryce enhaunsed to them of euery thing that they buye. Yea, the Prince, of whom wee speake nothing of all this while, as she hath most of yearly Reuenewes, and that certayne, so should shee haue moste losse by this dearth, and by the alteration specially of the Coyne; for, like as a man that hath a great number of seruants vnder him, if he would graunt that they should pay him pinnes weekly, where before they payde him pence,¹ I thinke he should be most looser himselfe; so wee bee all but gatherers for the Prince, and of that which commeth to vs, wee haue but euery man a poore liuinge; the cleare gaynes commeth, for the most part, to the Prince. now if her highnes doe take of vs the ouerplus of our gettings in this base Coyne, I reporte me to you, wether *that* will go as farre as good Money in *the* Prouision of necessaries for her selfe and the Realme. I thinke plainly no, for though her grace might within this realme haue thinges at her owne price, as her grace cannot indeede without great grudge of her Maiesties subiects; yea, since her Maiefty must haue from beyonde the Seas many thinges necessary, not onely for her graces houshold, and Ornaments aswel of her person and family as of her horses, which percase might bee by her Grace somewhat moderated; but also for the furniture of her warres, which by no meanes can be spared, as Armor of all kindes, Artillery, Ankers, Cables, Pitch, Tarre, Iron, Steele; (yea, I iudge farther) some Hand-gunnes, Gunne poulder, and many other thinges, moe then I can reckon, which her Grace sometimes doth buy from beyonde the Seas, at the prices that the straungers will set them at. I passe ouer the enhaunsment of *the* charges of her Graces houshoulde, which is common to her Grace with all other noble men; therefore, (I say,) her Maiefty should haue most losse by this common dearth of all other; and not onely losse, but daunger to the Realme and all her subiects, if her Grace should want Treasure to purchase the laide prouision and necessaries for warre, or to finde Souldiers

What men are
moste pinched
by this common
Dearth.

That the
Prince hath
moste losse by
this common
Dearth.

[¹ Fol. 12]

What daunger
should it be to
the Realme if
the Prince
should vwant
Treasure in
time of neede.

in time of neede, which passeth all the other priuate losses that wee speake of.

Capper.

Wee heare say that the Queenes Maiestyes mint maketh vp her losses that way, by the gaines which she hath by the Mint an other way; and if that be to shorte, shee supplieth that lacke by Subsidies and impositions of her ¹Subiects, so as her Grace can haue no lacke, so longe as her Subiects haue it.

[1 Fol. 12, back]

Doctor.

Yee say well there, 'so long as the Subiects haue it,' so it is meete the Queene shoulde haue, as long as they haue it; but what, and they haue it not? for they cannot haue it when there is no Treasure left within the Realme; and as touchinge the Mint, I coumpte that profit much like, as if a man woulde take his woode vp by the rote to make the more profit thereof at one time, and euer after to lose *the* profit that might growe thereof yearly; or to pull *the* wooll of his sheepe by the roote. And as for the Subsidies, howe can they be large when the Subiects haue litle to departe with? & yet *that* way of gatheringe treasure is not allwayes most safe for the Prynces fuerty; and wee see many times the profits of such Subsidies spent in the appeasing of the people that are moued to sedition, partely by occasion of the same.

Hovve the
Queenes Ma-
iesty cannot
haue Treasure
When her sub-
iects haue
none.

To vvhat pro-
fit the nevv
Mint is like.

Knighte.

Nowe that it was our chaunce to meete with so wise a man as yee be, Maister Doctor, I would wee did go thorough with *the* whole discourse of this matter, & as hetherto wee haue ensearched the very fores and grieues that euery man feeleth, so to try out the causes of them; and *the* causes once knowne, the remedy of them might be soone apparent; and though we be not the men that can reforme them, yet percase some of vs may come in place where wee may aduertise other of the same that might further and helpe forward the redresse of these thinges.

Doctor.

[²orig. cōmuni-
cation]

A Gods name, I am content to bestowe this day to satisfie your pleasurs, & though this ²communication (percase) shoulde doe no great good, yet it can doe no harme, I trust, nor offend no man, sith it is had betwene vs heere, a parte, and in good maner.

Knight.

[3 Fol. 13]

No, what man should be angry with him that were in an house, and espied some faulte in the Beames or Raf^{rs}ters of the same, and would ensreach the default, & then certifie the good man of the house thereof, or some other dwelling therein, aswell for his owne sauegarde as for others? but, forasmuch as wee haue thus farre proceeded, as to

A recapitulation
of the com-
mon griefes.

the findinge out of the griefes, which, as farre as I perceauē, standeth in these poynts, (that is to say) dearth of all things in comparison of the former age, (though there be scarfenes of nothings), defolation of Countryes by Inclosures, defolation of townes for lacke of occupations and Craftes; and diuision of Opinions in matters of Religion, which haleth men to and fro, and maketh them contend one against another. Now, let vs goe to the Garden vnder the Vyne, where hauing a good, freshe, and coole sitting for vs in the shadow, there wee may proceede farther in this matter at leasure. And I will bespeake our Supper here with myne host, that wee may all suppe together. A Gods name! (quoth euery one of the rest of the company), for wee are weary of sitting here so long. And so wee all departed to the Garden.

[Evils: dearth, enclosures, lack of work, divisions in religion.]

[Fol. 13, back]

THE SECOND DIA-

logue, wherein the causes or

*occasions of the sayd griefes are en-
creafed*

Knight.



Hen we had walked vp and downe in the sayd Garden a prety whye, I thought long till I had heard more of the sayde Doctors communication; for hee seemed to mee a very wise man, not after *the* common sort of these Clarkes, which can talke nothing but of the faculty that they professe: as, if they be Deuines, of diuinity; Lawyers, of the lawe; & Phisitions, of phisicke onely; this man spake very naturally of every thing, as a man vniuersally seene, that had ioyned good learning with good wit; and therefore I desired him and the rest of our faide companions, to resorte againe to the matter that wee left at, and first to discourse & search out what should be *the* causes of the faide common and vniuersall dearth of all things (in comparison of the former age), saying to *the* Doctor thus: I maruayle much, maister Doctor, what should be the cause of this dearth, seeing all things are (thankes bee to God) so plentifull. There was neuer more plenty of Cattell then there is nowe of all fortes; and yet there is scarcety of things which commonly make dearth. This is a maruaylous dearth, that in such plenty commeth, contrary to his kinde.

That it is a
maruaylous
Dearth that
commeth in
time of plenty.

Doctor.

Syr, it is (no doubt) a thinge to be mused vpon, and worthy of Inquisition; let mee heare every one of your opinions, and than yee shall heare myne.

Husband.

[Fol. 14]
The occasion
of this dearth
is layde to the
Gentleman

I thinke it is longe of you, Gentlemen, that this dearth ¹groweth, by reason yee enhaunse your lands to such a height, as men that liue thereon must needes sell deare againe; or els they were neuer able to make their Rent.

And I say it is long of you Husbandmen, that wee are forced to
 rayse our Rents, by reason wee must buy so deare all thinges that wee
 haue of you, as Corne, Cattell, Goose, Pigge, Capon, Chicken, Butter
 and Egges. What thinge is there of all these but that yee sell it nowe
 dearer by the one halfe then yee did within these xxx. yeares? Can-
 not you, Neighbour, remember, that within these xxx. yeres, I could
 in this towne buy the best Pigge or Goose that I could lay my hand
 on for foure pence, which now costeth twelue pence; a good Capon
 for threepence or fourpence, a Chicken for i.d., a Hen for ii.d., which
 now costeth mee double & triple the money? it is likewise in greater
 ware, as Biefe & Mutton.

Knight.

From the Gen-
 tlemen it is
 layde to the
 Husbandmen.

[Great rise in
 prices lately.]

I graunt that: but I say you & your sorte, men of landes, are the
 first cause heereof, by reason you rayse your landes.

Husband.

Well, if yee and your sorte will agree thereto, *that* shalbee holpen;
 vndertake that you & your sorte will sell all thinges at the price yee
 did xxx. yeares agoe, & I doubt not to bringe all Gentlemen to lette
 vnto you their landes at *the* rent they went at xxx. yeares past; and
 that the fault is more in you that bee Husbandmen, then in vs that bee
 Gentlemen, it appeareth by this,—all the landes of the Realme are not
 enhaunfed, for some haue takings therein, as Leafes, or Copies not yet
 expyred, which cannot bee enhaunfed though *the* owners would; and
 some Noblemen and Gentlemen there bee, that when their landes be
 at their disposition, yet they will enhaunce nothing aboute the olde
 rent, so as a greate parte of the landes of the Realme stand yet at the
 olde rent; and yet neuerthelesse there is none of your sorte at all, but
 selleth all thinges they haue, dearer then they were wont to doe by *the*
 one halfe. And yet these Gentlemen that doe enhaunse their rentes,
 doe not enhaunse it generally to the ¹double; though I confesse that
 some of vs that had landes either giuen vs by the Kings highnesse,
that belonged heretofore to Abbeyes and Priories, and were neuer
 surueyed to the vttermoost before, or otherwise descended to vs, haue
 enhaunfed any of them aboute the old rent, yet all *that* amounteth not
 to halfe the landes of the Realme.

Knighte.

The Gentele-
 mens excuse
 and resonable
 offer.

[1 Fol. 14, back]

How say yee? hee sayeth well to you nowe; will yee sell your
 wares as yee were wont to doe? and hee will let you haue his lande
 at the rent yee were accustomed to haue it. When the husbandman
 had pawfed a while, hee sayd:

Doctor.

Husband. If I had the price of euery thing that I must pay for besides like-wife brought downe, I could be content; els not.

Doctor. What thinges bee those?

Husband. Mary, Iron for my Plough, Harrowes, and Cartes; tarre for our sheepe; shooes, cappes, linnen & wollen cloth for my meany, which if I should buy, neuerthelesse, as deare as I doe nowe, and yet sell my wares good cheape, though my rent were thereafter abated, except the other thinges aforesayd might bee abated in pryce together, I could neuer lyue.

Doctor. Then I perceauē yee must haue *the* pryce of other things qualified, as well as the rent of your land, ere yee can aford your ware good cheape.

Husband. Yea, (but fir) I thinke if the lande were brought downe, that the pryce of all thinges would fall withall.

Doctor. Graunt that all the Landlords in this realme woulde with one assent agree, that theyr landes should bee in theyr Tenaunts handes, at like rent as they were at xxx. yeares agoe; yee sayd afore yee could not yet sell your wares as good cheape as yee might xx. yeares past, because of the pryce that is rayfed in other thinges that yee must buy; and if ye would say that those men should be driuen againe to sell those wares that yee buy, first better cheape, and then yee will sell yours thereafter, I pray you, how might they ¹be compelled to doe so? they be straungers, and not within obedience of our foueraigne Lady, that doe sell such wares, as Iron, Tarre, Flaxe, and other; then consider mee, if yee cannot so compell them, whether it were expedient for vs to suffer straungers to sell all their commodities deere, & wee ours good cheape; if it were so, than it were a greate enryching of other countreyes, and impouerishinge of our owne; for they should haue much Treasure for theirs, and haue our commodities from vs for a very litle; except yee could deuise to make one pryce of our commodities among our selues, and another outwarde, which I cannot see how it may bee?

[1 Fol. 15]
If all Landes
were abated
in their rent,
whether this
dearth would
be remedied.

That it were
not expedient
that straun-
gers should
sell deere and
wee good
cheape.

Knight. Nay, I will make my Neighbour heere another reasonable offer, if hee refuse this: let my Tenauntes rent bee increased as your payment is increased after the rate, and yet I am contented.

Husband. What meane yee by that?

Knight. I meane this: yee sell that yee were wont to sell a foretime for

A nother offer
of the Gentle-
man made to
the Husband-
man.

xx. groates, now for xxx.; let my rent bee increased after that proportion and rate, that is, for euery xx. groates of olde rente, x. shillings, and so as the pryce of your wares riseth; and yet I doe but keepe my land at the olde stent.

My bargayne was to pay for my holde but vi. poundes xiii. shillings iiij.d. of yearly rent, and I pay that truely; yee can require no more of mee. Husband.

I cannot much say agaynst that; but yet I perceaue I shall be still a loser by that bargayne, though I cannot tell the reason why; but I perceiue yee sell dearer, that yee liue on, and I good cheape that which is my liuing; helpe mee, mayster Docter, I pray you, for the Husbandman driueth mee to the Wall. Knight.

Mary, but mee thinketh, touching the matter yee did reason of, you draue him to his shifts; that is, to confesse that this dearth riseth not at your hand. And, though hee doe defend him selfe for his paymente to you by a colour of lawe, yet hee seemeth to confesse thus much, that the lawe compelleth you to take litle for your land, & that there is no lawe to restrayne him, but hee may sell his wares as deere as he listeth. It is enough for your purpose, that yee tooke in hand to proue that this dearth rose not first at your hande; but, whether (the pryces of thinges increasing as they doe) it were reason yee did raise your wares (which is your lande), or to bee payde after the olde rate when yee did sette your land; if yee bee compelled to pay for your prouision after the newe rate, wee will talke of that hereafter; or, let that bee considered of other wise men; but now let vs see, if the Husbandman were forced to sell his thinges good cheape, whether all thinges should bee well then. Our Englishe Coyne being supposed to be base, and of no such estimation in other countreies as within our owne Realme, (as for the most parte it hath beene) before that it was restored by our noble Prince, which now raygneth; put the case this, that this husbandman should bee commaunded to sell his wheate at viij.d. the bushell, Rye at vi.d., Barely at iiij.d., his pig and goose at iiij.d., his capon at iiij.d., his Henne at i.d. ob.; his Wooll at a marke the Todde; Biefes and Muttons after the olde pryces in time past haue beene; hee hath then enough to pay his Landlord, as hee had in time past; his Landlord agayne hath as much rent as hee was wonte to haue; and the same when the price is so set, will goe as far for the Doctor.

[Fol. 15, back]

Whether if the Husbandman were forced to abate the prices of his stuffe, this dearth should be them mended.

[Even if the Husbandman were ordered to sell at old prices and the Landlord to take his old rent,

sayd wares, whereof *the* pryces be thus fet as so much of olde Coine, payde after the olde wont would haue done; all this is yet well; heere is yet neither Lord nor Tenaunte griued; well, let us goe farther: The Husbandman must buy Iron, Salt, Tarre, Pitch; and suppose hee should bee also forced to reare vp Flaxe on his owne, and that pryces of cloth, both Linnen, & Woollen, & Leather, were fet after the rate. The Gentleman must buy Wynes, Spyces, Silkes, Armour, Glasse to glaze his house withall; Iron also for Toolles, Weapones, and other Instruments necessary, as Salt, Oyles, & many other diuerse thinges, more then I can reckon without summe; whereof they may in no wise want, as Iron & Salt, for of that which is within *the* realme of both, is not halfe sufficient for the same; Oyles, Tarre, Pitch, and Rozyn, whereof wee haue none at all; and without some other of the said commodities wee could liue but grossly and Barbarously, as without Wynes, Spyces, & Silkes, these must be brought from beyonde the Seas; shall wee buy them as good cheape after the rate? A man would thinke yes; for when straungers should see that with lesse money then they were wont to take for these wares, they may buy as much of the commodities of this realme as they were wont afore with more money, they will bee content to take the lesse money when it goeth as farre as *the* more went before, and so sell their wares as good cheape; (as for an example) if they sell now a yard of Veluet for xx.s. or xxii.s., and pay that for a Todde of Wooll, were it not as good for them then to sell their Veluet at a marke a yard, so they had a Todde of Wooll for a marke?

[¹ Fol. 16]could foreign
wines, glass for
windows, &c.¹be bought at
like low prices ?]

Knighte.

I would thinke so, for thereby hee should be at no more losse then hee is now. And so the like reason may serue for Iron, Wynes, Salt, Spice, Oyles, Pitch, Tarre, Flaxe, Waxe, and all other outwarde commodities.

Doctor.

If I should aske you this question, whether they should bee compelled by a lawe to sell their wares so or no, what could yee say?

Knight.

It maketh no matter whether it were so or no; & I think they cannot, because they be out of the Princes Dominion, and at liberty whether they will bring any thing to vs or no; but seeinge they may haue all thinges heere, as good cheape at that price they sell for lesse money, as they had before for the greater price, they will willingly bring their wares and sell them so.

¹Thereof I doubt, vpon the former supposition of our base Coyne; for I thinke they would sell still at the highest as they doe now; or bring nothinge at all to vs. For yee must vnderstand they come not alwayes for our commodities, but sometimes to sell theirs heere, knowing it heere to be best vendible, and to buy in other countreyes other commodities, where the same is best cheape; and some times to sell in one parte of the Realme their wares that bee there most desired, and to goe to some other parte of the realme, for the commodities that be there most abundaunt and best cheape, or partly of our Countrey & partly of another; and for *that* purpose Coyne vniuersally currant is most commodious, specially if they intend to bestowe it in any other place, then where they were vnladen of their marchaundize. Now, if our coyne were not so allowed in other places as it is heere, *the* straunger should be at greater losse if he should take our coyne for his wares, so as he had leauer bring his wares to other places where hee might haue Coyne currant in all places for it, that he might bestowe when and where he list. If they would looke but for our wares for theirs, thinke yee that they would not study to bring vs such wares or stufte as should be best cheape with them and most deare with vs.

Doctor.
[1 Fol. 16, back]

The straungers
vill take but
money currant
euery Where
for thir vware
that they haue
on their
charge.

Yea, no doubt that is the policy of all Marchaunts.

Knight.

What stufte is that, trowe you?

Doctor.

Mary, Glasse of all sortes, paynted Clothes, & Papers, Orenge, Pippens, Cherries, perfumed Gloues, and such like tryfles.

Knighte.

Yee say well, they will percase attempt vs with such & such thinges as are good cheape with them; it costeth but their labours onely, and their peoples, which els should be idle; yet these thinges be some what after the price in other places vendible as well as heere. But when wee feele the lacke of Iron, Steele, Salt, Hempe, Flaxe, and such other, such light wares as yee speake of will not be desired heere, ²but reiected, and these other looked for. what other thinges els will they bring, trowe you?

Doctor.

That straun-
gers and all
Marchauntes
bring thinges
that bee best
chape to them,
and deereest
vvith vs.
[2 Fol. 17]

Percase yee meane Silkes, Wynes, and Spycles?

Knight.

No, not that, for those bee in good price els where.

Doctor.

What, then, should they haue to vtter to vs, that is best cheape with them and deereft with vs?

Knight.

Brasse, for it should go *with* them but for Brasse in dede, and therefore good cheape, and heere with vs a great part for

Doctor.

Siluer, and therefore deere with vs; and *that* they would bringe vnto vs.

Knight.

How? in brasse Pots, Panes, and other Vessel of Brasse?

Doctor.

Not so; no man would take such Stuffe but for Brasse in deede.

Knighte.

[¹] Doctor.

How then? ¹Then the Doctor tolde mee, that it was in Coyne made beyonde sea, like in all thinges to our Coyne, which they brought ouer in heapes; and when they see that esteemed heere as siluer, they bringe that for our commodities, as for our Woolles, felles, Chese, Butter, Cloth, Tinne, and Ledde, which thing euery man will be glad to sell for the most they can get; and beinge offered of straungers more of our Coine then they may get within the countrey, they will sell them to straungers rather then vs, with whom the price is set; then straungers may aforde *that* Coine good cheape, for they make it them selues, and the Stuffe is good cheape that they make it of, and so they will geue thereof for our sayde commodities, as much as yee will aske. Then, though they made not such Coyne themselves, yet, seeing they must pay more for our wares, or els no man would bring them to them, when hee may haue as much at home of his neighbours, the straungers must needs haue a consideration of that in the price of *the* sayd outwarde marchaundize that they sell, & also holde them deerer. And thus by the one way they may exhauste our cheife commodities, and giue vs brasse for them, where with wee cannot buy such ²other like necessary commodities againe as wee shoulde want, if they were not plenty within our Realme. Much like the exchange that *Homer* sayeth *Glaucus* made with *Diomedes*, when he gaue to his man his golden Harnesse for Brasen. But *the* other way they must needs bee brought to sell their wares deerer to vs, and then, if this husbandeman and Gentleman, and so all other within this realme, should be compelled to sell their thinges good cheape, and yet buy all thinges deere that cometh frome beyonde the Sea, I cannot see how they should longe prosper; for I neuer knewe him that bought deere and sold good cheape, and vse it any long space, to thriue.

[Base coin made abroad, and exchanged for English goods.]

[² Fol. 17, back. *Catch word* like o.]

Glauci & Diomedis permutatio.

He that selles good cheape and buieth deere shall not lightly thriue.

Knight.

There may be searchers made for such Coyners as yee speake of, comming in, and punishments deuised therefore; and for goinge forth of Viçtayles also, that none shall passe this Realme.

Doctor.

There may be no deuise imagined so stronge, but that yee may bee deceaued in both those points, as well in such coyne brought in as in

viçtailes caried forth; for many heades will deuise many wayes to get any thinge by; & though wee bee enuyroned with a good Poole, (that is, the Sea,) yet there is to many Posterns of it to gett out and in, vnwares of the maister. Whosoeuer hath but a pretty house, with any Family of his owne, and but one Gate to go forth and come in at, and the maister of *the* house neuer so attentiuē, yet somewhat shalbe purloined forth; much more out of such a large Realme as this is, hauinge so many wayes and Posterns to goe forth at and come in. And yet if straungers shoulde bee content to take but our wares for theirs, what shoulde let them to aduaunce *the* prices of their wares, though oures were good cheape vnto them? and then shall wee be still losers, and they at the winning hand with vs, while they sell deere and buy good cheape, and consequently enrych themselues and impouerishe vs. Yet had I leauer aduaunce our ¹wares in price as they aduaunce theirs (as wee nowe doe), thoughte some bee loofers thereby; but yet not so many as shoulde bee the other waye. And yet, what businesse shoulde there bee in making of prices of euery trifle? for so it would bee, if the price of any one thinge bee abated by *commaundemente*; and therefore I cannot perceauē that it maye bee remedied by either of you both (I meane you, Gentleman, & you good husbandman); for if it rose at either of your hands, so it might be remedied likewise at the same, by releasēg the thing againe at either of your handes that was *the* cause of this dearth. But if either you should release your rente, or you the price of your Viçtayle to the olde rate, yet that coulde not compell straungers to bringe downe the price of theirs, as I haue sayde; and so longe as their commodities be deere, it were neither expedient, nor yet could yee (though yee woulde) make your commodities good cheape (except yee can deuise a waye how to liue without them & they with out you), which I thinke impossible, or else to vse exchaung of ware, for ware without Coyne (as it was before Coyne was founde), as I reade in the time of *Homer* it was, and also the Ciuile lawe doth affirme *the* same, which were very combersome, and would require much cariage of ware vp and downe, where nowe, by the benifit of Coyne, a man may by those tokens fetch the wares that hee lacketh a far of, without great trouble of cariadge; and hard were it readily to finde all wares that the one hath to pay the other, of equall value.

It is not possible to keepe our Treasure from going forth of the Realme, if it be in more estimation else vwhere.

[¹ Fol. 18]

That the d[e]arth lose neither at the Gentleman nor Husbandmans hand.

Permutation of thinges before Coyne.

Husband. If neither the gentleman, nor I may remedy this matter, at wofe hands lieth it to bee holpen then?

Doctor. I will tell my mynde therein hereafter; but firft let vs boulte out *the* caufe of this Dearth. And therefore let mee learne what other thing fhould be the caufe thereof.

Capper. Mary! thefe Inclofures and great Paftures are a great caufe of the fame, Whereby men do turne the erable lande, ¹beinge a liuing for diuerfe poore men before time, nowe to one mans hand; and where both Corne of all forte, and alfo cattell of all kinds were reared aforetime, now there is nothing but onely fheepe. And in fteede of C. or CC. perfons that had their liuing thereon, now bee there but three or foure Shepherds, and the Maifter onely, that hath a liuing thereof.

Doctor. Yee touch a matter that is much to be confidered, albeit I take not that to bee onely *the* caufe of this dearth at this time; but this I thinke in my minde, that if that kinde of inclofing doe afmuch increafe in xxx. yeares to come as it hath done in xxx. yeares paff, it may come to *the* great defolation and weaking of the ftrengh of this realme, which is more to be feared then dearth, & I thinke it to bee *the* moft occafion of any thinge yee fpake yet, of thefe wilde & vnhappy vpprores *that* hath bene among vs; for by reafon of thefe Inclofures many Subiectes haue no Grounde to liue vppon, as they had before time, and occupations be not alwayes fet a worke all a like, and therefore the people ftill increafinge, and their liuings diminifhing, it muft nedes come to paffe that a great part of *the* people fhall be idle and lacke liuinge, for hunger is a bitter thing to beare. Wherefore they muft needes, whan they lacke, murmur agayne them *that* haue plenty, and fo firre thefe tumultes.

Knighte. Experience fhould feeme to proue playnely, that Inclofures fhould bee profitable and not hurtfull to the common weale; for we fee *the* countreyes where moft Inclofiers be, are moft wealthy, as Effex, Kent, Northhamptonfhire, &c. And I haue hearde a Ciuilion once fay, that it was taken for a Maxime in his lawe (this faying), 'that which is poffeffed of many in common, is neglected of all'; & experience fheweth that Tenaunts in common be not fo good hufbandes as when euery man hath his parte in feueralty; alfo, I haue heard fay, that in the moft countreyes beyonde *the* Sea, they ²knowe not what a common grounde meaneth.

[¹ Fol 18, back]

Complaynt a-
gainst fheepe-
maifters.

That Inclo-
sures is the oc-
cafion of deso-
lation & vvea-
king the povv-
er of the
Realme.

Quod in com-
muni possi-
detur, ab om-
nibus negli-
gitur.

Reasons to de-
fend Inclofures
[² Fol. 19]

I meane not of all Inclosures, nor yet all commins, but onely of such Inclosures as turneth common & erable fields into pasture, and violent Inclosures of commins without iust recompence of them that haue right to commen therein; for if lande were feuerally enclosed, to the intent to continewe husbandry thereon, and euery man that hath right to commen had for his portion a piece of *the* same to himselfe inclosed, I thinke, no harme, but rather good, should come thereof, if euery man did agree thereto; but yet it woulde not be sodaynely done, for there be many poore cottages in England, which hauing no lands of their own to liue one, but their handy labour and some refreshing vppon the sayde commens, which if they were sodaynely thrust out from that commodity, might make a greate tumulte and a disorder in the commonweale; and percase also, if men were suffred to inclose their grounds vnder the pretence to keepe it still in tillage within a while after they woulde turne all to Pasture, as wee see they doe now, too fast.

What kinde of Inclosures is hurtfull.

[Poor, without land.]

If they finde more profit thereby then otherwise, why should they not?

Knighte.

I can tel why they should not, wel ynough, for they may not purchase themselues profit by *that* which may be hurtfull to other; but how to bring them *that* they would not so doe, is al the matter; for so long as they finde more profit by pasture then by tillage, they will still inclose and turne erable land to pastures. (*quoth the Knight*) That well may be restrained by lawes, if it were thought most profitable for *the* common weale, but all men doe not agree to that poynte.

Doctor.
Whether that vvhich is profitable to one may be profitable to all other if they vse the same feate.
Knight.

I wot well they doe not, and therefore it were hard to make a lawe therein, so many as haue profit by that matter resisting it. And if such a lawe were made, yet men, studying still of there most profit, woulde defraud the lawe by one meane or other.

Doctor.

I haue heard oftentimes much reasoning in this matter, and some, in maintenaunce of these Inclosures, would make this reason: euery m[a]n is a Member of the commonweale, & that which is profitable to one man may be profitable to another, if he would exercise the same feate. Therefore, that which is profitable to mee, & so to another, may be profitable to all, and so to *the* whole commonweale. as a greate Masse of Treasure consisteth of many pence, and one pence added to another, and so to the thirde and fourth, &c., maketh vp a

Knight.
[^t Fol. 19, back]

greate somme; so doth each man added one to anothere make vp the whole body of a common weale.

Doctor.

That reason is good, adding some what more to it: true it is, that that thing which is profitable to each man by himselfe, so it be not preiud[i]cial to any other, is profitable to the whole commonweale, and not otherwise; or else stealing or robbing, which percase is profitable to some men, were profitable to the commonweale, which no man will admit: but this feate of inclosinge is so, *that* where it is profitable to one man, it is preiudicial to many; therefore I thinke that reason sufficiently aunswered.

[Enclosures
profit one man,
hurt many.]

Knight.

Also, they will laye forth another Reason, saying, that *that* which is our owne commodities should bee alwayes aduauanced as much as might be, and these sheepes profit is one of the greatest commodities wee haue; therefore it ought to bee aduauanced as high as it may bee.

Doctor.

I coulde aunswere that argument with the like reason as I did the other; true it is, we ought to aduance our owne commodity as much as wee can, so it bee not to as much more the hinderaunce of our other commodities. Or else, where as the breede of Coneyes, Deere, and fuchlike, is a commodity of this Realme; yet, if wee shoulde turne all our erable grounde to nourishe that commodity, and giue vp the Plough, and all other commod[i]ties for it, it were a great folly.

Euery com-
modity muste bee
aduauanced so
as it be not
preiudicial to
other greater
commodities.

Knight.

[Fol. 20]

Doctor.

'They will say agayne, that all Groundes bee not meete for sheepe.

It is a very ill Grounde, but either it serueth to breed sheepe or to feede them vppon; and if al that is meete either for the one [or other], were turned to the mayntenance of Sheepe, and none other thinge, where shall wee haue our other commodities growe?

Knighte.

All cannot doe so, though some doe.

Doctor.

What should let them all to do *that* wicn they see some do? yea, what should better encourage them thereto, then to se them that do it be come notable riche men in short time by *the* doing thereof? And then if euery man should do so, one following the example of another, what should ensue thereof, but a meere solitude and vtter desolation of the whole realme, furnished onely with Sheepe and Sheepardes, in steed of good men, whereby it might be a pray to the enemies *that* first would set vpon it? for then *the* sheepe Maysters & their Sheep-herds could make no resistaunce to the contrary.

[If all grew
Sheep instead
of good Men,
England would
be the prey of
her foes.]

Who can let them to make their most aduantage of *that* which is their owne? Knight.

Yes, mary! men may not vse their owne things to the damage of the commonweale; yet for all this that I see, it is a thinge most necessary to bee prouided for, yet I cannot perceue it shoulde bee the only cause of this dearth, for this Inclosinge and greate grafinge, if it were occasion of that dearth of any thing, it muste bee of Corne cheifly, and nowe these many yeares past we had Corne good cheape inough. And the dearth *that* was then most, was of cattell, as Biefes and Muttons; and the broode of these are rather increafed then diminished by Pastures and inclosinges. Doctor.

No man may abuse his ovvn things to the preiudice of the common vveale.

Why should men be then so much offended with these Inclosures? Knight.

Yes, & not without great cause, for thoughe these many yeares past, through the great bounty of God, we haue had ¹much plenty of Corne whereby it hath beene good cheape, one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two most commonly were wont to do,—yet if these yeares had chaunfed to be but meanelly fruitfull of Corne, (no doubt) we should haue had a great dearth of Corne, as wee had of other thinges. And then it had bene, in a maner, an vndoing of the poore Commens. And if hereafter there shoulde chaunce any barren yeares of Corne to fall, wee should bee assured to finde as greate extremity in the price of Corne, from *that* it was wont to bee, as we finde now in the prices of other victayle. And specially if wee haue not ynough to serue within *the* Realme, which may happen hereafter, more likely then in time past, by reason that there is much lande since turned to pasture; for euery man will seeke where most aduantage is, & they see there is most aduantage in grafing and breeding then in husbandry and tillage, by a great deale. And so longe as it is so, the Pasture shall euer inroch vpon tillage, for all the lawes that euer can be made to the contrary. Doctor.

[¹ Fol. 20, back.]

[The late large harvests have alone stopt the undoing of the poor.]

And how thinke yee that this might be remedied, then? Knight.

To make the profit of the plough to be as good, rate for rate, as the profit of the Grafer and sheepe maister is. Doctor.

How coulede that be done? Knight.

Mary, I coniecture two manner of wayes, but I feare me the deuises shall seeme at the first blush so displeaunt vnto you, ere yee consider it thoroughly, that yee will reiect them ere yee examyne them; for we talke now to haue things good cheape; and then if I should Doctor.

How Inclosi-ers may be remedied vvithout constraint of lavvss.

mention a meane *that* should make some thinges deerer for the time, I shoulde bee anon reiected, as a man *that* spake against every mans purpose.

Knighte.

Yet, say your minde and spare not, and though your reason at the first seeme vnreasonable, yet we will heare whether yee can bring it to any reasonable ende.

Doctor.

[1 Fol. 21]

Remember what we haue in hand to treat of, not how the prices of thinges onely may bee brought downe; but ¹how these Inclosures may bee broken vp, and husbandry more vsed; of the prices of thinges we shall speake heere after. [Kn.] Wee wil remember well that.

Knight.

What maketh men to multiply pastures & Inclosures gladly?

Doctor.

Mary, the profit that groweth thereby.

Knighte.

Doctor.

It is very true, and none other thinge. Then finde the meanes to doe one of these two thynges that I shall tell you, And yee shall make them as glad to exercise tillage as they doe nowe Pastures.

Knight.

What be those two thinges?

Doctor.

[Make grazing pay less, or tillage more.]

Mary, either make as litle gaynes to growe by *the* Pastures as there groweth by *the* tillage, Or els make *that* there may growe as much profit by tillage as did before by the Pastures, and then I doubt not but tillage shall be aswell cherished of every man as Pasture.

Knight.

And how may that be done?

Doctor.

Mary, the first way is to make *the* wooll to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof as the Corne is; and *that* shallbe, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing ouer Sea, vnwrought, as yee make of Corne; another, is to increase *the* custome of Wooll that passeth ouer vnwrought. And by that the price of it shalbe abated to the breeders, and yet *the* price ouer Sea shal be neuer the lesse; but, that which is increased in the price thereof on straungers, shall come to the Queenes highnesse, which is as profitable to the Realme as though it came to the breeders, and might relieue them of other subsidies. Thus farre as touchinge the bringing downe of the price of Woolles; now to the inhaunsinge of the price of corne, to be as good to *the* husbandman as wooll should be; and that might be brought to passe if yee wil let it haue as free passage ouer Sea at all times, as yee haue now for Wooll.

That a like restraint of vwool shuld be made as is of Corne, or none to be sent ouer.

[Export of corn to be as free as that of wool.]

Marchaunt.

By the first two wayes, men woulde send lesse wooll ouer sea then

they doe nowe, and by that way the Queenes 'custome should be [2 Fol. 21, back] dyminished; by your latter way, the pryce of Corne should be much enhaunfed, wherewith men would be much grieved.

I wot wel it would bee deere at the first, but if I can perfwade Doctor. you that it were reasonable, it were so; and that the same could bee no hinderaunce to the Realme vniuersally, but greater profit to the same, then I thinke ye would be content it shoulde be so; and as touchinge the Queenes custome, I will speake afterwarde.

I graunt, if yee could shewe me that.

Marchaunt.

I will assay it, albeit the matter be somewhat intricate; and, as I Doctor shewed you before, at the first vew would displeafe many; for they would say, 'woulde yee make Corne deerer then it is, haue wee not dearth enough els with out that? Nay, I pray you finde the meanes to haue it better cheape, if it may bee, it is deare enough already', and such other like reafons would bee sayd. But now let the husbandman answere such againe: 'Haue not you Grafiers rayfed the price of your Woolles and Felles? and you Marchauntmen, Clothiers, and Cappers, rayfed the price of your marchaundize and wares, ouer it was wont to bee in manner double? Is it not as good reason, then, that wee should raise the price of our Corne? what reason is it you should bee at large, and we should be refrayned? Eyther let vs all be refrayned together, or els let vs bee all at like liberty. Ye may sell your Wooll ouer Sea, your Felles, your Tallow, your Cheefe, your Butter, and your Leather, (which ryfeth all by grafing) at your pleasure, and for *the* deereft peny yee can get for it; and wee shall not sell out our Corne, except it bee at x d. the bushel, or vnder, that is as much to say, as wee that be husband men shall not sell our ware, except it be for nothing, or for so litle as wee shall not be able to liue thereon.' Thinke you if the husbandman here had spoke these wordes, that he did not speake them somewhat ²reasonable?

Reasons vvhy the Husbandman should be at like liberty as other to sell his vwares.

[2 Fol. 22]

I thanke you with all my hart, for ye haue spoken in *the* matter Husband. more then I could doe my selfe, and yet nothing but that is most true. Wee felt the harme, but wee wist not what was the cause therof; many of vs sawe well longe agoe, that our profite was but small by the Plough, & therefore diuerse of my Neighbours, that had in time past some two, some three, some four Ploughs of their owne, haue layde downe, some of them part, and some of them all their Teemes;

That by breeding the husband hath most cleare gaynes.

and turned either part or all their erable ground to Pasture, and there by haue waxed very riche men. And every day some of vs incloseth some part of his ground to Pasture; and were it not that our ground lyeth in *the* common fieldes, entermingled one with another, I thinke also our fieldes had bene enclosed, of common agreement of all the towneship, longe or this time. And to say *the* very truth, I, that haue enclosed litle or nothing of my ground, coulde neuer be able to make vp my Lords rent, were it not for a litle herd that I haue of Neate, sheepe, fwyne, geese, and Hennes, that I do reare vpon my ground; Whereof, because *the* price is somewhat round, I make more cleare profit then I doe of all my corne; & yet I haue but a very bare liuing, by reason that many thinges doe belong to husbandry which bee now ex[c]eedinge chargeable ouer they were in time past.

Capper.

Though this reason of maister Doctors here doth please you well that be husbandmen, yet it pleaseth vs that be artificers nothing at all, which buy most both breade-corne and malt-corne for our peny; and whereas ye, maister doctor, say, that it were as good reason that the Husbandman should reyse the price of his corne, and haue as free vent of the same ouer sea, as we doe and haue of our wares, I cannot greatly deny; but that yet I say that euery man hath neede of corne, but they haue not so much of other wares.

[^r Fol. 22, back]
Doctor.

That profit ad-
uanceth all
faculties.

Honos alit
Artes.

¹Therefore, the more necessary that corne is, the more be the men to be chearished that reareth it; for if they see there bee not so much profit in vsinge the plough as they see in other feates, thinke ye not that they will leaue that trade, and fall to another *that* they see more profitable? As yee may perceiue by the doings of this honest mans neighbours, which haue turned there erable lande to pasture, because they see more profit by pasture then by tillage. Is it not an old saying in Latin, *Honos alit artes*? that is to say, profit or aduancement nourisheth euery facultie; which sayng is so true, that it is allowed by the common iudgement of al men. Wee must vnderstand also, that all thinges that should bee done in a common Weale, bee not to be forced, or to be constraigned by the straight penalties of the lawe, but some so, and some either by allurement and rewardes rather. For what lawe can compell men to be industrious in trauayle, or labour of body, or studious to learne any science or knowledge of the mynde? to these thinges they may be well prouoked, encouraged, and allured;

if they that be industrious and paynefull, bee rewarded well for their paines; and bee suffered to take gaynes and wealth as rewardes of their laboures, and so likewyse they that be learned, be aduanced and honoured accordinge to their forwardnes in Learning; euery man will then study, either to bee industrious in bodely labour, or studious in thinges that pertaynes to knowledge. Take these rewards from them, & go about to *compell them* by lawes thereto, what man wil plough or digg *the* ground, or exercise any manuell art wherein is any paine? or who will aduenture ouer seas for any Marchaundise, or vse any facultie wherein any perill or daunger should be, seing his reward shalbe no more then his *that* fits still? But yee wil percase aunswere me, *that* all their reward shal not be taken away, but part of it. Yet then yee must graunt me, *that* as if all these rewardes were taken from them, all these faculties must ¹decaie; so if part of that reward be minished, the vse of these faculties shall minish withall after the rate, and so they shal be the lesse occupied, the lesse they be rewarded & esteemed. But now to our purpose: I thinke it more necessary to deuise a meane how husbandry may be more occupied rather then lesse; which I cannot perceiue how it may be brought to passe, but as men do se the more gaines therein, the gladder they will occupie that feate; and this to be true (that some things in a common weale must be forced with paines, and some by rewards allured) may appeare by *that* which the wise and politique senatour *Tully* wryteth: saying, that it was the wordes of *Solon*, which was one of the seuen wyse men of *Greece*, and of those seuen the onely man that made lawes, that a common weale was holden vp by two things chiefly, that is, by reward and payne; of which words I gather, that men should be prouoked to do good deedes by rewardes and preferments; and to abstaine from ill doinges by paines. Trowe you, if husband men be not better chearyshed or prouoked *then* they be to exercise *the* plough, but that in processe of time, so many ploughes wil be layd downe, as I feare me there be all ready, that if one vnfruitefull yeare shall happen amonge vs, as commonly doth once in seuen yeares, we should *then* not onely haue dearth, but also skarcenes of corne, that we should be driuen to seeke it from outwarde parties, and pay deare for it.

How would yee haue them better chearyshed to vse the plough? Knight.

To let them haue more profit by it *then* they haue, & liberty to Doctor.

That some thinges are to be allured by rewardes, and some other vvith straight paynes forced, in a common-Weale.

[¹ Fol. 23]

The lesse honor or profit is geuen to any arte, the lesse it shalbe frequented.

Tullius in Ep. ad att

[Free Trade in
Corney needed.]

fell it at all times, & to all places as freely as men may do other things; but then (no doubt) the price of corne would rise, specially at *the* first, more then at length; yet *that* price would prouoke euery man to set *the* plough in the ground, to Till waste grounds, yea, & to turne the lands *that* is now enclosed for pasture, to erable; for euery man will the gladder follow ¹that, wherein they see the more gaines; and thereby must nedes ensue, both greater plenty of corne within the realme, and also much treasure should be brought into the realme by reason thereof; And, besides that, plenty of all other victuall encreased amonge vs.

[¹ Fol. 23, back]

Knight.

That would I faine heare you declare howe.

Doctor.

Ye haue heard that by this free vent and sale of corne, *the* husbandmans profit is aduanced; then it is shewed that euery man naturally will follow that wherein he sees profit ensue; therefore men wil the gladder occupy husbandry; & the more doe occupie husbandry, the more plenty of Corne must nedes be; And *the* more plenty of corne there is, thereof the better cheape; And also the more will be spared ouer *that* which shall suffice for the realme. And then, that may bee spared in a good yeare, shall bringe vs againe either corne, or els the commodities of other countreis necessary for vs. Then the more husbandry there is occupied, the more vniuersall breede should be of all victuals of Neate, Sheepe, Swine, Geefe, Hennes, Capons, & Chickens; for al these are reared much on corne.

Knight.

If men shoulde sell, when a good seasonable yeare is, all that is ouerplus when the Realme is serued, what shoulde wee doe if a barren yeare shoulde happen, when no store of corne is left of the good yeare before?

Doctor.

Fyrst, ye muste consider that men will bee sure they will keepe inoughe to finde themselues within the realme, ere they sell any forth of the same; and hauing libertie to sell at their pleasure, doubt ye not but they had leuer sell their corne two pence or three pence in a bushell better cheape within the realme, then to bee at the charge of cariage, and perill of aduenture, in sending it ouer, and sell it dearer, except it be for much more gaines. And thus men beinge prouoked *with* luker, wil keepe the more corne, loking for a deare yeare in the countrey, whereby must nedes be great store; ²and though they did not so, but should sell ouer sea all that they might spare ouer *that*

Profit vwill
make husband
en more oc-
cupied, & there
by more profit,
and consequent-
ly better
cheape of
corne.

[Husbandmen
sure to keep a
stock of corn in
hand.]

[² Fol. 24]

serues the realme when *the* yere is plentifull; yet, by reason that through the meanes aforefaid moe Ploughes are set aworke then would suffice the Realme in a plentifull yere; if a scarce yere should fal after, the corne of so many ploughes as in a good yere would be more then enough in an vnfruitfull yere, at the leaste would be sufficient to finde the Realme; & so should *the* Realme be serued with enough of corne in a scarce yere, & in a plentifull yere no more then inough, which might be sold ouer for great treasure or greater commodities; where now in a plentifull yere we seeke to haue but as much as may suffice *the* Realme. Then if a scarce yere should happen, we must needs lacke of our owne to serue, and should be dryuen to buy from beyond the sea; and then, if they were as enuious as wee bee, might not they say, when we requyred any corne of them, (that feing they could get none from vs when we had plenty,) why should they let vs haue any corne when wee haue scarcitie? Surely common reason would that one region should helpe an other when it lackes; and therefore God hath ordeyned that no countrey should haue all commodities; but that which one lackes, an other brings forth; & that *that* one countrey lacketh this yere, another hath plenty thereof, commonly the same yere, to the intent men may knowe that they haue neede one of anothers helpe, & thereby loue and societie to growe among all men the more. but here we would doe as though we had neede of no other countrey on earth, but to liue all of our selues; & as though wee mighte make the market of all things as wee list our selues. For though God is bountifull vnto vs, & sends vs many greate commodities, yet wee coulde not liue without the commodities of others. And, for example, of Iron and Salte, though wee haue competently thereof, yet wee haue ¹not the thirde parte to suffice the Realme, and that can in no wise be spared if yee wil occupy husbandry; then tar, rozyn, pitch, Oyle, and steele, wee haue none at all; and for Wynes, spyes, linnen cloth, filkes, & coloures, though we might liue indifferently without them, yet far from any ciuility should it be, as I deny not but many things wee might haue heere sufficiently that wee buy now from beyond sea, and many things wee might spare wholly; whereof, if time will serue, I shall talke more here after. But nowe to returne to the first poynte I spake of before: to bee one of the meanes to bring husbandry vp, that is, by basing *the*

[Free Trade in Corn would so increase the growth of corn, that we should haue plenty even in a scarce year.]

[God has ordained that one country should help another.]

[We can't live without other countries' products,

[1 Fol. 24, back]

and we ought to exchange with them freely.]

Whether the
Quee. custome
should be di-
minished by re-
straint of vvoll
vauvrought.

[We must keep
the balance of
trade with
foreigners equal.]

[1 Fol. 25]

Hovve straun-
gers fetch from
vs our great
for very trifles.

[Foreign knick-
nacks that we
could well do
without, or make
heir.]

estimacion of wooll & felles. Though I take not that way to bee as good as the other, for I doe not allowe that meane that may bafe any of our commodities, except it bee for the inhaunfing of a better commodity; but if both commodities may bee inhaunfed together, as by the laft deuife I thinke they might be; I allowe that way better, neuertheleffe, where as you (brother Mercer) shewed afore, that either by restraining of wooll and other commodities, till they were equal within the Realme after the rate of the corne, or inhaunfing the custome of wooll and other the sayd commodities, till the price beside the custome of the sayd commodities were brought like to the corne in proportion, *the* Quenes custome shoulde bee diminished; I thinke not so, for the one way, as much as she shoulde haue for *the* more wooll at litle custome ventred ouer, so much should we haue for the lesse wooll at a greater custome ventred. And the other way, as much as her Grace should lose by her custome of wooll, so much or more should her grace winne by *the* custome of Clothes made within the realme. But one thing I doe note by this later deuife, what, if they should take place, we must doe, that is, if wee keepe within vs much of our commodities, wee must spare many other things that we haue now from beyonde sea, for wee must alwayes take heede that wee buy no more ¹ of straungers then we do sell them, for so we should impouerish our selues and enrich them. For hee were no good husband that had no other yerely reuenewes but of his husbandry to liue on, that would buy more in the market then he felles againe. And that is a pointe that wee might saue much by our treasure in this realme, if wee would. And I maruell no man takes heede to it; what number first of trifles comes hether from beyond the sea that wee might either cleane spare, or els make them within our realme, for the which wee either pay ineftimable treasure every yere, or els exchange substantiall wares and necessary for them, for the which we might receaue great treasure. Of *the* which fort I meane as well looking glasses as drinking, and also to glaze windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles, Puppettes, penners, Inkehornes, Toothepickes, Gloues, Kniues, Dagges, Owches, Brouches, Agglettes, Buttons of filke & siluer, Earthen pots, Pinnes and Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thousand like thinges that might either be cleane spared, or els made within the

realme sufficient for vs ; and as for some thinges, they make it of our owne commodities and send it vs againe, whereby they set their people a worke, and doe exhauste much treasure out of this Realme : as of our woll they make Clothes, Cappes, and Kerseis ; of our felles they make Spanish skins, Gloues, and Girdels ; of our Tinne, Salt-fellers, Spooones, and Dishes ; of our broken Linnen, clothes and ragges ; Paper both white and browne. What Treasure (thinke yee) goes out of this Realme for euery of These thinges ? and then for all together, it exceeds myne estimation. There is no man can be contented now with any other Gloues, then be made in *Fraunce* or in *Spayne* ; nor Kerseie, but it must bee of *Flaunders* die ; nor Cloth, but *French* or *Fryseadowe* ; nor Ouche, Brooch, or Agglet, but of *Venice* making, or Millen ; nor Dagger, Swearde, ¹Knife or Gyrdle, but of *spanish* making, or some outward countrey, no, not as much as a Spurre but that is fetched at the Millener. I haue heard within these xl. yeares, when there were not of these Haberdashers that selles french or Millen Cappes, Glasses, Kniues, Daggers, Swordes, Gyrdels, and such thinges, not a dosen in all London ; & now from the tower to Westminster alonge, euery streete is full of them, and their shoppes glitter and shyne of Glasses as well drynking as looking ; yea, all maner of vessell of the same stuffe,—paynted Cruises, gaye Daggers, Kniues, Swordes, and Gyrdels ; that it is able to make any temperate man to gaze on them and to buy somewhat, though it serue to no purpose necessarie. What neede they beyonde sea to trauaile to *Perowe*, or such farre countreies, or to trie out the sandes of the ryuers of *Tagus* in *Spaine*, *paetolus* in *Asia*, and *Ganges* in *India*, to get amonge them after much labour small sparkes of gold ; or to digge the deepe bowels of the earth for the mine of Siluer or Golde, when they can of vile claie not farre sought for, and of pryple² stones and Ferne rootes make good Golde and Siluer, more then a great many of Siluer and Golde mines would make. I thinke not so litle as a hundred thousand poundes a yeare is fetched of our Treasure for thinges of no valure of themselves, but onely for the labours of the workers of the same, which are set a worke all on our charges. What griefes of wits be we of, that se it, and suffer such a continual spoyle to be made of our good and treasure by such meanes ! and specially that will suffer our owne commodities to goe and set straungers a worke, and then

Our delicacy
in requiring
straungers
Wares.

[Foreign goods
that are the
fashion in
England.]

[1 Fol. 25, back]

The encrease
of haberdash-
ers & mileners
ouer they vvere
vront to be

[Glittering
glasses, &c.,
tempt buyers.]

Howe the straun-
gers finde an
easier vway to
get treasure by
thinges of no
value, then by
any mynes of
gould or siluer.
[² pybble,
pebble.]

[What asses we
are, to spend
£100,000 a year
in foreign
nonsenses.]

How straungers finde their nation vvith our commodities, and on our costes.

[1 Fol. 26]

[Why don't we make up our own materials?]

Knicht.

[Foreign work, tho' doubly taxt, sells cheaper than ours does.]

Doctor.

Why straungers may aforde vvares better cheape made by them, then vve may the same made here, & yet that it vvere better for vs to buy our ovvne though they vvere dearer.

[An English Paper-maker undersold by foreign paper imported.]

L
the latter should
coue been
witho^utly
here.] t.]

back]

to buy *them* againe at their handes; as of our Woll they make and die Kerfies, Friseadowes, broade Clothes, and Cappes beyonde sea, & bryng them hether to bee folde againe; wherein I pray you note what they doe: they make vs pay at the ende for our owne stufte againe. Yea, for *the* fraungers custome, for their worke¹manshippe and colours, and lastely for the second custome in the retourne of the wares into the realme again; where as, by working the same within the realme, our owne now should be fet a worke at the charges of fraungers, the custome should be borne all by fraungers to the Queene, & the cleare gaines remaine within the Realme.

If yee ponder such things and other, which goeth ouer Sea yerely from vs for the same, yee speake to litle by as much againe; but one thinge I haue marked, that albeit it is true, that though fraungers buy their woll deare, & pay twife custome, that is, both at going out of the wooll, and when it retournes in clothes or cappes, yet the same shalbe better cheape then that which is made within the Realme, whereof that should come, I would faine knowe.

Whether it come of the sloth, or of our chargeable fare, or of our idlenes, which we Englishmen vse, percase, more then other nations, I knowe not; yet it were better for vs to paie more to our owne Countrey men for these wares, then to fraungers lesse; for how litle gaines so euer goeth ouer, it is lost to vs cleare; but how much so euer *the* gaines is that goeth from one of vs to another, it is all saued with in the Realme; and a like reason as you make now heere, Once a Booke-feller made mee, when I asked him why we had not white and browne paper made within *the* realme, aswell as they had made beyond the sea? Then he aunswered mee *that* there was paper made a while within *the* realme. At the last the man perceiued that made it, that he could not aforde his paper as good cheape as it came from beyond *the* sea, and so he was forced to lay downe making of paper; and no blame in the man, for men will geue neuer the more for his paper because it was made here; but I would eyther haue the paper staied from comming in, or so burdened with custome, that by that time it came hether, our men mighte aforde their paper better cheape then fraungers might do ²theires, the customes considered.

There, ye speake a thinge that the Queenes Atturney would not agree vnto; for if such ware were made within the realme, *then* the

Queenes custome should be lesse, by reason that litle or no such wares should come from beyond the Sea.

If the Queenes Attorney did regard as well the profit that should come after, as that which is present afore *the* eyes, hee would agree to this well inough; for, by this meanes, inestimable treasure should be sau'd within *the* realme; and then it could not growe to the profit of the subiects; but it must needs growe also to the profite of the Queene, for the wealth of the subiectes is the profit of the Queene; and in mine opinion they doe not beste provide for her Graces profite, that procureth onely a presente commoditie, but rather that commodity that may longest endure without grieve of her subiects.

Doctor

The most durable & vniuersal profit is more to be esteemed then short and particular.

You would haue a lawe made, that no such ware should be brought from beyond the sea to be sould heere, of such things as could be made heere as wel as there.

Knight.

Yea, forsooth! so would I wishe.

Doctor.

I was once in a Parlyament, when such a thinge was moued, but onely for Cappes, that none made beyond sea should bee sould heere within the Realme, and then it was aunswered by a greate wise man, that it was to bee feared least it touched the league made betwene *the* Princes highnesse & some forraigne Prince; what thinke you, then, would haue bene said, if yee would haue moued a lawe to be made of our wooll, our Tynne, our Led, and Hydes, beyond sea, should haue bene sould heere?

Knight.

Whether our restraints doe touch the leagues made vvith other Prynces.

I cannot tell, whether that should touch the league or no, nor whether any such league be: but I say to you, *that* I think it a maruaylous league that shoulde let vs to make lawes to binde our owne subiects, that might be profitable to them; ¹ and if there were any such league, I had leauer it were broken then kept, which, being broken, shoulde doe vs good, & being kept, should doe vs harme; and I suppose, that when wee enter any league, the same is ment to be for our weale, and not for our hinderance; wherefore, that league would not be esteemed *that* might hinder our common weale.

Doctor.

[¹ Fol. 27]

No league is to be cherished that is not for the commonweale.

What if they would make a like lawe beyonde the sea, that wares made within this realme should not bee sould there, as they made of late, when wee deuised a lawe that no Wynes shoulde bee caried hether in fraungers bottomes.

Knighte.

Yet, should they be enforced rather to dissolue their law then we

Doctor.

[English
exports

and imports.]

A vvorthy ex-
ample to be
followed in
vsing of straun-
gers.

[The Caer-
marthen Bayliff
who refused to
let English
apples

be exchange'd
for Welsh friezes
and wooll.]

[1 Fol. 27, back]

[Why don't we
imitate the
Welshmen, and
refuse to change

our cloths and
metals for
foreign rattles,
&c., but consent
to do so for good
flax, fish, &c. ?]

ours ; for our stuffe is necessary for them *that* is made here : as cloth, Leather, Beire, tallow, butter, cheefe, pewter vessel, &c. Theirs bee to vs, more to serue pleasure then necessity : as Tables, Cardes, perfumed Gloues, Glaffes, gally Pots, Dyalls, Orenge, Pippens, and Cheries ; yee, their chiefe commodities might be better spared of vs then retayned of them : as wyne, filkes, spices, yron, and Salt. I would to God wee woulde followe but the example of a poore Hauen towne, *that* I heard of it to do of late, heere in *the* Marches of Walles, called *Carmarthen*, when there came a certayne Vessell thether out of *England*, all Laden with Appells, which aforetime was wont to brynge them good corne, the towne commaunded that nonne shoulde buy the sayd Appells vpon a great payne, and so the Bote stoode so long in the Hauen without sale or vent, till *the* Appells were putrified and lost. And when the owner demaunded of the Bayliffe of the towne, why he had stayd his sale and vent ? the Bayliffe aunswered againe, that the sayd vessell came thether to fetch the best wares they had in the countrey, as Fryzes, brode Clothes, & wooll ; and in steede thereof hee should leaue *them* in their countrey but appells, that should be spent & wasted in lesse then a weeke. And sayd, 'bring vnto ¹vs corne or malt as yee were wont to doe, whereof *the* countrey hath need, and yee shall be welcome at all times, & yee shall haue free vent and sale thereof in our Porte' : thinke yee that the cities of London, Southampton, Bristowe, Chester, and other moe, might they not learue a good lesson of this poore Welch towne in this doing ? Might not they say, when shippes full of Orenge, Pippens, or Cheries come in, that if they would agayne take Plummes, Damozins, and strawberries for them, they shoulde haue free exchange ? and when they bring in Glaffes, Puppets, Rattles, and such like things, they should haue like trifles for them, if any such were to bee had within this Realme, as there bee many ; but if they come for our Woolles, for our Clothes, Kerseyes, Corne, Tinne, Ledde, yea, our Golde and siluer, and such substantiall and necessary things, let them bring in againe Flax, Tarre, Oyles, Fyfe, & such like. And not to vse them as men doe litle Children, geue them an appell for the best Iewell *that* they haue about them. And thus wee are empouerished of our treasure & chiefe commoditie, and cannot perceaue it ; such is the fineness of straungers wits and the grossnes of ours ; yet it were more tollerable if wee did

no more but chearifhe their deuifes *that* be *straungers* ; but we haue in times past deuifed our felues many other wayes, to our owne impouerifhment, and to exhaust our treafure. And now I muft come to that thinge that you (brother Mercer) touched afore, which I take to be the chiefe caufe of all this dearth of thinges (in comparifon of former times) and of the maunif[e]ft impouerifhinge of the Realme, and might in fhort time haue ben *that* deftruccion of the fame, if it had not bene *the* rather remedied, that is, the bafing or rather the corrupting of our coyne & treafure ; whereby we deuifed a way for the *straungers*, not only to buy our Gold and filuer for braffe, and to exhaust this realme of treafure ; but alfo to buy our chiefe commodities ¹in maner for naught ; yet it was thought this fhould haue beene a meane, not onely to bryng our treafure home, but to bring much of theirs ; but the experience playnly declared the contrary, fo that it were but a very Dullerdes parte now to be in any doubt thereof.

Of the coyne, vvhhat harme might haue groovne of the alteration of it.

[The chief cause of all our evils is the debasing of our coin.]

[1 Fol. 28]

Forfooth, and fuch a Dullerd am I in deede, that I cannot perceaue what hinderance it fhould be to the realme to haue this mettall more then that (for our Coyne), feeing the Coyne is but a token to goe from man to man, & when it is ftricken with *the* Princes feale to be currant, what maketh it the matter what mettall it be made of, yea, though it were but Leather or paper ?

Knight.

[Coin may well be any metal, leather, or paper.]

You fay but as moft fort of men doe fay, and yet they bee farre wide from the trueth, as men that doe not confider the thinge groundly ; for by that reafon God would neuer fend dearth among vs, but the Prince might quickly remedy it. As, if Corne were at a Crowne a bufhell, the Prince might prouide Crounes enowe for him felfe, and alfo his fubiecs, made of braffe, to pay for the fame ; and fo to make it as eafy for him and his fubiecs to pay a Crowne of fuch mettall for a bufhell, as it fhould be for them now to pay a penny for the fame ; and as the pryce of Corne doth rife, the Prince might raife the eftimation of his coyne after the rate, and fo keepe the coyne alwayes at one eftate in deede, though in name it fhould feeme to rife. As for example, fuppofe Wheate this yeare to be at a grote a bufhell, & the next yeare at two grotos, the Prince might caufe the grote to be called viii.d. ; and if the bufhell rofe to xii.d. the bufhell, he might raife the eftate of the grote to xii.d. ; and fo whether it were by making of coyne of other mettalles then be of pryce receaued among all men, or

Doctor.

[Argument against a currency not based on gold or silver.]

[1 Fol. 28, back]

The substance
and quantity is
esteemed in
coyne, & not
the name

[Wares are the
subject of ex-
change, tho'
under the name
of coin.]

[2 Fol. 29]

Aristo. lib. 5
Eth.

by enhaunſing the price of the olde coyne made in mettalles of estimation, the Prince might, if your reason were true, keepe alwaies not onely corne, but also all other victualls and necessaries for ¹mans life, alwayes at one price in deede, though in terme they should vary; but yee may see dayly by experience *the contrary* hereunto, for when God fendeth dearth either of corne or of other things, there is neither Emperor nor King can help it, which they would gladly doe if they might, as well for their owne ease as for their subiectes; and might soone doe it, if your reason afore touched might take place; that is, if either they might make coyne of what estimation they would, of vile mettalls; or els enhaunce the value of coines made in mettalls of price, to what summe they would. Yet a man at the first blush woulde thinke that a Prince in his realme might doe this easily, & make what coyne he would to be currant, and of what estimation it pleased him; but he that so thinketh marketh but the termes, & not the thinges that are vnderſtanded by them, as if a man made no difference betwene vi. grotes that made an ownc of siluer, & xii. grotes that made in all but an ounce of Siluer; by the grote of the first sorte, the sixth parte of an ounce, and by a grote of the other sorte is the twelfth part of an ownc of siluer vnderſtanded; and so there must be as much difference betwene the one grote & the other, as is betwene two and one, the whole thing & the halfe, though either of both be called but vnder one name, that is, a grote; we must consider, though gould & siluer be the mettals commonly wherein the coyne is stricken to be the tokens for exchange of thinges betwene man and man, yet it is the wares that are necessary for mans vse, that are exchanged indeede vnder the outward name of the coyne; and it is the raritie & plenty of such wares that makes the price thereof hier or bafer. And because it were very combrous and chargeable to cary so much of the wares that we haue abundance of, to exchange for the wares that we want, alwayes both for the weight of our wares, and also for that they could not be ca²ried so farre without perishing of the same, nor proporcioned so euen, as there should be alwayes neither more or lesse brought of our wares *then* were equiualent *with* other wares that we receiue; therefore were the mettalles of gold & siluer deuised as wares of litle weight, most in value, & least combrous to cary, and least subiect to detriment or hurt in the cariage thereof;

And may be cut and deuided in moſte pieces and portions, without any loſſe, to bee as *the* mean in Wares to exchange all other wares by. And if the thing were to be new deuised, neceſſity would cauſe vs to deuise *the* ſame way againe. For, put *the* caſe there were no uſe of money amonge vs, but onely exchange of wares for wares, as ſometimes I do read hath ben; we might at a time haue ſuch plenty of things in our realme, as, for example, of corne, wolles, & Felles, Cheeſe & Butter, and ſuch other commodities, as were ſufficient for vs; and there ſhoulde remaine with vs ſuch great ſtore that wee could not ſpend it in our needes, nor keepe it longe without periſhing. Would not we be glad to exchange that abundance of things *that* could not abyde the longe keeping, for ſuch wares *that* woulde abyde the keeping? which we mighte exchange againe for ſuch wares as I rehearſed, or any other as neceſſary, when ſcarſity of the ſame ſhould happen amonge vs. Yea, verely wee ſhoulde ſtudy to haue in that exchange ſuch wares as would go in leaſt romth, and continue longeſt without periſhing, and be caried to and fro with leaſt charge, & be moſt currant at all times and at all places. Is not Gold & Siluer¹ the things that be moſt of that ſorte, I meane moſt of value, moſt light to be caried, longeſt able to abide the keeping, apteſt to receiue any forme, marke, & moſte currant in all places, & moſt eaſely deuided into many pieces without loſſe of the ſtuffe? In ſome of theſe poynts I confeſſe precious Stones do excel both Siluer & Gold, as in value or lightneſſe of cariage; but, then, they may not be deuided² without periſhing of the ſubſtaunce; nor put agayne together after they be once deuided, nor many of them abide ſo many daungers without periſhing of the matter, nor yet receiue any marke or ſtampe eaſely, nor be ſo vniuerſally eſtemed; therefore they be not ſo meete for Inſtruments of Exchange as Siluer and Golde be, or els they for their pieces and lyghtneſſe of cariage might be. And, becauſe Gold and Siluer haue all theſe commodities in them, they are choſen by common aſſent of the whole world, that is knowen to be of any ciuility, to be inſtruments of exchange to meaſure all things by, moſt apte to be either caried far or kepte in ſtore to receiue for thinges, whereof we haue abundance, and to purchaſe by them agayne other thinges which wee lacke, when and where we haue moſt neede. As for example, if there were no coyne currant, but exchange of thinges, as I

That the neceſſity of mutual traffique and commodity of exchange made Coyne to bee deuised.

Hom. F. de emptione & vendicatione. Li. I.

[*orig. Silt uer*] Why Gold & ſiluer vvere the ſtuffe moſt meete for coine to bee ſtricken in.

[Precious ſtones not ſo fit.]

[2 Fol. 29, back]

Publica mensura. Aristo. Eth.

sayd sometime there was; set this case, that a Man had as much corne in one yere as he could not well spend in hys house in foure yeares after, and perceiued that hee myghte not keepe it so longe, or till a deare or karse yeare shoulde come; and if he did, much of it shoulde perishe, or all; were it not wisdome for him then to exchange the ouerplus of that corne, for some other ware that might be longer kept with out daunger of wast, or deminishing, for *the* which he myghte at all times haue either Corne againe at his neede, or some other necessarie thinge? Yeas, no doubt, if there were no vse of Siluer or Golde, he would haue Tinne, brasse, or Leadde, or such other like thing that would abide the keeping with least detriment, and would desire to haue that thing most that were in least weight, most in value, and in leaste daunger of wearing or perishing, & moste vniuersally receiued, wherein Gold and Siluer excesses all other mettalles.

[Convenience of
a metallic
currency.]

Knight.

What makes these Mettalles to bee of more value then other?

Doctor.

No doubt their excellencie aboue other mettalles, both ¹in pleasure and vse; partly the rarity of them.

[† Fol. 30]

Knight.

What be these qualities? If yee prayse the Gold for his weight or plyablenes, Led doth excel it in these pointes; if yee commend his colour, Syluer by many mens iudgements (whose colour resembleth *the* day lyght for his clerenesse) passeth him. And Herroldes preferres it in Armes, because it is furthest of seene in *the* Fielde, nor neuer seemes other colour but his owne, be it neuer so farre of; where all other shall seeme blacke farre of, and so loose the strengthe of theyr owne.

[The merits of
Silver]

Doctor.

As much as the Led approacheth the Golde in that point—I speake of weight and pliablenes—it is cast behinde it in other qualities farre more commendable, as in colour it either passeth Siluer, by some other mens iudgements, because it resembles the colour of the celestially bodies, as the Sunne and Starres, being the most excellent thynges that commeth vnder the view of the bodily senses of man; or it is equivalent to it in armes. I know not how much it is esteemed; well I wote Prynces blase their armes most with that colour, whether it bee for excellency of the same, or for that they loue the mettall it is made of so wel, I cannot tel. But now to esteeme theyr other qualities: Golde is neuer wasted nor consumed by fire; yea, the more it is burned the more puerer it is; which ye can say of none other mettalles. Then it weares not lesse by occupying, it defyleth not the thing

Why Golde, &
Syluer are este-
med afore al o-
ther mettalles.

it toucheth, as Siluer doth, with which ye may draw lynes, which is a declaration that the stuffe falleth away, albeit wryters do maruell that it should draw so black a line, being of that brightnes and colour it self. Then there is no rust nor scurfe *that* diminisheth the goodnes or wasteth *the* substance of Gold; it abides *the* freating, and licours of Salt & Vinegar *without* damage, which weareth any other thing; it needes no fire, ere it be made Golde, as others require; it is Golde as soone as it is founde; it draweth without wooll,¹ as it were Woll; it is easily spred in leaues of maruailous thinnes; yee may adorne or guild any other mettals with it, yea, Stones and Timber; it is also nothinge inferiour in commodity of making vessels or other Instrumentes to filuer, but rather puerer, cleaner, and more sweete to kepe any liquor in. Next him approacheth Siluer in commenda[ti]ons, as in clennes, beauty, sweetenes, and lightnes. And it serues not onely to make vessels and other instruments, but it is also sponne, but not without Woll, as Golde may bee, though they could not doe it aforetime, but with Gold onely, as I haue hearde; church Vestures were made onely of Gold then, and now of late of this Siluer, being spon with filke and guilte, they counterfeite the olde excessse of clothe of Golde and tyssue. Now to speake of other mettals, yee see what vses they serue for, which if these were away should bee more esteemed. Then I toulde you the raritye commends the sayd mettals of Golde and Siluer yet more then this. For as they do excel in qualities, so Dame nature seemes to haue layde them vp in a further warde, then her other giftes, to shew vs that all fayre things be rare, and *that* the fayrest thinges, as they be hardest to be attained, so they be most to be esteemed. If a Glasse (as *Erasmus* sayth wel) were as rare as siluer, it should be as deare as siluer, and not without cause; who could glase a Window with siluer so as he might keepe out the iniury of the weather, and yet neuerthelesse receiue the commodity of the light through *the* same to his house, as with glasse he might? And so I might commend other things for their vse afore Gold or Siluer, as Iron & steele, with whom yee may make better tooles for many necessary vses then with Gold or Siluer; but for the vses that we talke of, Siluer and Golde do clearely excel al other mettals. I passe ouer that matter. Thus I haue shewed some reason why these mettals of Golde & Syluer are growen in estimation aboue other.

[The merits of Gold over Silver.]

[1 Fol. 30, back]

[The uses of Silver.

It is now spun into Church vestments.]

[The scarceness of Gold and Silver makes them valuable.

Were Glass as scarce: as silver, it 'ld be as dear.]

Knight.
[1 Fol. 31]

Why Golde &
Siluer vvere
coined.

Doctor.

Plini lib. 33
Cap. 3.

Sometime
brasse, siluer &
Gold vvere
vveighed be-
fore Coyne
made.

Inst. de test.
ord. §. 1.

[Coin markt
to guarantee
its weight.]

[2 Fol. 31, back]

Why losse com-
meth of cre-
dence.

¹ Why doe Kynges and Princes stricke these mettalles and other with a Coyne? but because they would haue that coyne, of what value so euer it be, to beare the estate that *the* coine pretendeth, which they did in vaine if they could make the mettall that beareth that, to be neither better nor worfe in estimation. Then I had as lief haue smal gaddes or plats of Siluer and Gold, without any coyne at al to go abroade from man to man for exchange.

Surely the time was so, (euen amonge the *Romaynes*, when neither brasse, siluer, nor golde was coined;) but were esteemed onely by the weight. And thereof to this day remayneth these vocables of coynes, as *Libra*, *Pondo*, *Dipondius*, as *Solidus*, *Denarius*, wordes of waightes, that afterward were geuen to coynes, pretending *the* same weights. Also the common officers that waighed these rude mettals were called *Libri pendes*, whereof we haue mencion made in *the* Ciuile lawe; but, because in great traffique & assemblie of buyers, & fuch, it was tedious to tary for *the* weighing of these Mettalles, and trying, it was thought good that the Princes should strike those mettals with feuerall markes, for the variety of the weights they were of, to assure *the* Receiuer the same to be no lesse then the weight it pretended. As for playner example, they strake *the* pounce weight with the marke of the pound, and two ounce with the marke of *the* ounce, and so after the variety of *the* weights of other pieces variable markes; whereby began the names of Coynes, so that the people needed not to bee troubled with the weighing and trying of euery piece; beinge assured by the marke of the Prynce, that euery piece containd the weight that was signified by the marke set on euery one; the Prynces credite was then fuch amonge their subiects as they doubted nothinge therein. As soone as they attempted to doe otherwise, that is, to marke the halfe pound with *the* marke of the pound, & the halfe ounce with the marke of *the* ounce, ²a while their credite made those coynes currant. As I read among *the Romaynes* practized more then once, but assoone as it was espied, the two pieces of halfe pounds went no farther then *the* one piece of a whole pound went before. And at length, as much as they wonne at the first, they lost at the last in payment of their rentes, customes, and duties. And so the nearer East, the further from West. And they consequently lost their credite; much like as I haue knowne certain townes in England to haue done

which were wont to make their clothes of a certayne bredth and length, and to fet their seales to the same; while they kept the rate truly, straungers did but looke on the seale, and receaue theyr ware, wherby these townes had great vent of theyr clothes, and consequently prospered very well. Afterward, some in these townes, not contented with reasonablen gaines continuall, and desiering more, Deuifed clothes of lesse lengthe, bredth, and goodnesse, then they were wont to bee, and yet by the commendation of the seale to haue as much Money for the same as they had before for good clothes, and for a time they gat much, and so abased the credite of theyr Predecessors to theyr singuler Luker, which was recompenced with the losse of theyr Posterity. For after these Clothes were founde faulty, for all their seales, they were not onely neuer the better trusted, but much lesse for theyr Seale, yea, though their Clothes were well made; for when they vntruth and falshood was espied, then no man woulde buy theyr clothes, till they were ensearched and vnfolded, regarding nothing the seale; and yet because they founde them vntrue in some parte, they mistrusted them in other; and so would geue lesse for those clothes then for any other lyke, hauing no Seales to the same, whereby the credite of the said townes was lost, and the townes vtterly decayed. Dyd yee not see that our Coyne was discredited immediately vpon the alteration of it, in the late yeares of King *Henry* ¹the eyghte, specially among Straungers, whych euer before desiered to serue vs afore all other Nations, at all our needes, for the goodnes of our Coyne? And then they would let vs haue nothing from them, but onely for our commodities; as Wooll, Felles, Tallow, Butter, Cheefe, Tynne, and Ledde; & where before time they were wont to brynge vs for the same, either good Golde or siluer, or els as necessary commodities agayne; then they sent vs eyther such trifles as I spake of before: as Glasse, gally Pots, tennice Balles, Papers, Gyrdels, Brouches, Buttons, Dyalles, and such light ware that standeth them in no charge or vse, or els (if it be true that I haue heard, and as I tolde you in your eare before) they sent vs Brasse for our Treasure of Golde and siluer, and for our sayd commodities; I warrant you, yee sawe no Golde nor Siluer broughte ouer vnto vs, as it was before vsed, & no maruayle; to what purpose should they bring siluer or Golde thither, whereas the same was not esteemed? Therefore, I haue heard say for a truth, and I beleue it the rather to

[Some English townes stamp their full-measure cloths with a seal; and buyers bought by the seal only.]

[Then some scamps put the seal on short-measure cloths.]

[The cheat was found out, and then the seal discredited even good cloths.]

[1 Fol. 32]

[So our base coin was soon found out, and then foreigners 'ud only take our products, wool, cheese, tin, &c., in exchange for their glass, paper, buttons, &c.]

What doe strangers send vs for our Treasure & chiefe commodities?

[Debasd English
coin imported
from abroad.]

bee true, because it is likely, that after that our Coyne was bafed and altered, Straungers counterfeited our Coyne, & founde *the* meanes to haue greate Masses of that transported hether, and here vttered it well for our olde Golde and filuer, as also for our chiefe commodities, which thinge I reporte mee vnto you what inconuenience it might bring vnto this Realme if it were suffered, in a finall compasse of time?

Knight.

There bee searchers that myght let that matter well ynough, if they be true, both for staying of such falsē Coyne to come in, and of our old Coyne to goe forth.

Doctor.

Howv our olde
coyne may bee
transported, &
the Prince or
her officers not
knowing of it.
[† Fol. 32, back]

We devise the
rediest vway to
driue away
our treasure.

I sayd so to the man that tolde mee the same tale that I tolde you euen now. And he answered me, there were many wayes to deceaue the Searchers, if they were neuer so true, as by putting of the sayde Coyne in their shippes balast, or in some vesselles of Wyne or other Lyquor, transport^d either vnto vs or from vs. then, euery Creake in this Realme hath not searchers; And if they had, they bee not such faintes as would not bee corrupted for money. Besides this, was there not made proclamations that the olde coyne, specially of Golde, should not be currant here aboute such a pryce? was not that the rediest way to driue away our golde from vs? euery thing will goe where it is most esteemed, and therefore our treasure went ouer in heapes.

Knight.

I belieue well, that these were meanes to exhaust *the* olde treasure from vs, which yee haue reiectēd; but how it should make euery thing so deare among our felues, since *the* time (as yee sayd it doth), I cannot yet perceaue the reason.

Doctor.

Why? doe yee not perceiue, that by reason hereof wee payde dearer presently for euery thing that we haue from beyonde the Sea, then wee were wont to doe before?

Knight.

That cannot be denied.

Doctor.

By howe much, thinke you?

Knight.

By the thirde parte, well maner of things.

Doctor.

Must not they that buy deare, sell deare agayne theyr wares?

Knight.

That is true, if they intend to thriue; for he that selleth good cheape & buyeth deare, shall neuer thriue.

Doctor.

You haue your selfe declared the reason why things *within* the Realme proued after *that* time so deare; for wee must buy deare all

things bought from beyond the sea, & therefore wee must sell agayne as deare our things, or els wee make ill bargaynes for our selues. And though that reason maketh it plaine, yet the experience of *the* thing maketh it playner; for where yee say that euery thing bought beyond the sea is commonly dearer by the third parte then it was, do yee not see *the* same proportion rayfed in our wares, if it be not more?

Why thinges
vwithin the
realme should
be so deare.

What losse haue wee by this, when wee sell our commodities as Knight.
deare as wee buy others?

¹I graunte to one sorte of men, I accompt it no losse; yea, to some other a Gayne more then any losse, and yet to some other fort a greater losse then it is profit to *that* other; yea, generally to the vtter impouerishing of the Realme, and weaking of the Queenes maiesties power exceedingly.

Doctor.
[Fol. 33]

I pray you, what be those sorts that yee meane? And first of those Knight.
that yee thinke should haue losse thereby?

I meane al these that liues by buying and selling; for, as they buy Doctor
deare, they sell thereafter.

What is the next sort that yee say would win by it? Knight.

Mary, all such as haue takings or Fearmes in theyr owne manurance at the olde rent; for where they pay after the olde rate, they sell after the new; that is, they pay for theyr lande good cheape, and sell all things growing thereof deare.

Doctor.
Some had
gaynes by the
alteration of
the coyne.

What sorte is that which yee sayde should haue greater losse hereby, then these men had profit? Knight.

It is all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and all other that liue either by a stented rent or stypend, or doe not Manure the ground, or doe occupy Doctor.
no liuing or selling.

I pray you peruse these sortes as yee did the other, one by one, Knight.
and by course.

I will gladly: firste, the Noblemen and Gentlemen lyue for the most part on the yerely reuenues of their lands and fees geuen them of the Prynce. Then ye know he that may spend now by such reuenues and fees CCC.li. a yere, may not keepe no better port then his father, or any other before him, that could spend but nigh CC.li.; and so yee may perceiue it is a great abatement of Mans Countenance, to take away the thirde parte of his liuing; and therefore

Doctor.

Who had losse
by the alteration
of Coine.

[1 Fol. 33, back]

[Some gentlemen give up their country-houses, and get chambers in London.]

[12d. now won't go so far as 8d. of old.]

[Yeomen's wages, —40s. a year, and 20d. a week boardwages,—are doubled.]

Knight.

[Servingmen.]

Doctor.

[Servingmen's dress of old.]

Of excesse in apparell and fare.

[Servingmen's gay dress now.]

[2 Fol. 34]

[Masters strive whose retinue shall be most gay.]

gentlemen doe study so much the increafe of their Lands and enhauning of their Rentes, and to take Fearnies and pastures to their owne handes as yee see they doe, and all to seeke to maintayne their countenaunces as their predece¹sors did, and yet they came shorte there in. Some other, seeing the charges of householde encrease so much, as by no prouision they can make, it can bee holpen, geue ouer their householdes, and get them Chambers in London or aboute the courte, and there spend their time, some of them with a seruauant or two, where he was wont to keepe thirty or forty persons daily in his house, and to doe good in the Countrey in keeping good order and rule among his neighbors. The other sorte be euen Seruingmen, and men of Warre, that hauing but their olde stented wages, cannot finde them selues there-with as they might afore time, without rauin or spoile. And ye know xii.d. a day now will not go so far as viii. pence would aforetime. And therefore yee haue men so euill willing to serue the Prince now a dayes, from *that* they were wont to bee. Also, where xl. shillings a yere was honest wages for a Yeomen afore this time, and xx. pence a weeke borde wages was sufficient, nowe double as much will skante beare their charge.

That is longe of theyr excesse, aswell in Apparell as in fare, for now a dayes Seruingmen goe more costely in apparell, and looke to fare more daintely then their maisters were wont to doe in times past.

No doubt that is one great cause of the greater charge of householde. For I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer, and a frise coate in winter, and with a plaine white hose made meete for his body, And with a piece of biese, or some other dishe of fodge meate all the weeke longe: Now he will looke to haue at the least, for sommer, a coate of the finest cloth that may bee gotten for money, and his Hofen of the finest Kersey, and that of some straung die: as Flaunders die, or french puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer, if he weare cloth. Then their coates shalbe garded, cut, & stitched; and the breches of their hose so drawen with filke, that *the* work²manship shall farre passe the pryce of the stuffe. And thys thing is not restrained as it should be, but rather cherished of the Maisters, on struing with the other who may bee most proude, and whose retinue may goe most lauish & gay for a time of shoue; whereas through such

exceſſe they are fayne all the reſt of the yere to keepe the fewer ſeruauntes. And ſo in exceſſe of meates, they fare at ſome tymes in the yere, that in the whole yere after they keepe eyther no houſes at all, or if they doe it ſhalbe very ſmal. Like exceſſes aſwell in apparell as in fare were vſed in *Rome*, a litle before the declination of the Empyre, ſo as wyſe men haue thought it was occaſion of the decay thereof. And, therefore, *Cato* and diuerſe wyſe ſenatours at that time, would haue had lawes made for reſtrainte of ſuch exceſſes; and for that, through the infolencie of ſome that maintained the contrary, *the* ſame were not duly executed, much pride enſued there, and of pride, diuiſion; and through deuſion, vtter deſolation of the common weale. I pray God this Realme may beware by that example, ſpecially London, the head of the empyre, where ſuch exceſſes (by reaſon the Wealth almoſt of thys Realme is heaped vp there, as the Corne of a Field into a barne) be moſt vſed; for in other parties commonly of thys Realme, the lawe of neceſſity keepes men in a good caſe for exceeding either in apparell or fare. I thinke wee were as much dread or more of our enemies, when our Gentlemen went ſimply, and our Seruingmen plainely, without Cuts or gards, bearing their heauy Swordes and Buckelers on their thighes, in ſted of cuts and Gardes and light daunſing Swordes; and when they rode, carying good Speares in theyr hands, in ſtede of white rods, which they cary now, more like ladies or gentlewomen then men; all which delicacyes maketh our men cleane effeminate & without ſtrength.

[Exceſs in food now.]

[London goes to the greateſt exceſs in dreſs and food.]

[Light ſwords for heavy, and white rods for ſpears, are now carrid: men are ſo effeminate.]

We may thanke our longe peace & quiet within *the* realm, that men be not forced to ride ſo ſtrong. It was a troblous ¹ world as well within the Realme as without, when men went and rode as you do ſpeake.

Knight

[1 Fol. 34. back]

What can you tell what time or how ſone ſuch a world may come again? Wiſe men do ſay, that in peace men muſt looke and prouide for warre, and in warre again for peace. If men might be alwaies ſure of peace, then needed no man to keepe men at all. But ſith it is otherwiſe, and that *the* iniquitie of men is ſuch as they cannot bee longe wythoute Warre, And that we reckon heere in Englande our chiefe ſtrength to be in our Seruingmen & yeomen, it were wiſedome to exerciſe them in tyme of peace, ſomewhat wyth ſuch apparell, ſare, and hardenes, as they muſte needes ſuſtayne in time of warre,

Doctor.

In peace, looke for vvarre.

[The ſtrength of Englande is in Seruingmen and Yeomen.]

then the fame shall bee no nouelty to *them* when they come to it ; and theyr bodies shall bee strong, and harder to beare that that they were somewhat accuftomed withall afore. Let this that I fay be of no credite, if delicacie¹ and tendernes was not the most occasion of the subduing of the greateft Empyres that were.

[¹ orig. deticacie]

Knight.

[Men can only
bear light armour
now.]

Surely, ye fay very wel, and that which foundeth to good reason. I must needs alowe *that* I haue found true my selfe, for my men are so tenderly vsed in time of peace, that they can not away with any heauy armour in time of warre, but either shirts of Maile or Coates of linnen ragges, which a² shotte may perhaps deceyue vs. Then what faye you by our buildinges, that wee haue here in Englande of late dayes, far more excessiue then at any time heretofore? Doth not that impouerish the Realme, & cause men to keepe lesse Houses?

[² orig. a a]

[New fine
houses.]

Doctor.

I fay that all these thynges be tokens & Ornamentes of peace, and that no doubt is cause of lesse Housholdes, sith the buildings and trimming of those houses spendes away that that should be otherwise spent in household. But it doth not empouerish the Realme at all, for all the expences of buildings, for the most part, is spent amonges our felues & ³amonges our neighbours⁴ and Countreymen: As amongs Carpenters, Mafons, and Labourers, except men will fall to guilding or painting of these Houses. For in that much treasure may be spent, and to no vse. Also the Arefes, Verderers, and Tapiftry workes, wherewith they bee hanged commonly, conueieth ouer into *Flaunders* & other straunge Countreyes (where they be had from) much of our Treasure.

[Building good
for the realm.]

[3 Fol. 35; mis-
numbered 36]
[⁴ orig. neigh-
bours]

Of excesse in
building.

Knight.

[Did not the
taking of the
Church
Revenues by the
Crown send
much money
abroad?]

Syr, yet I must remember you of one thing more, which men do suppose to be a great occasion of the spendinge of the treasure abroad; & it is where there is comen to *the* crown of late yeares much lands, by reason of Monasteries, colleges, and Chauntres dissolved, which men suppose hath bene the cause two maner of waies, that there is lesse treasure abroad in the Realme. One is, because the reuenues of the sayd places, dissolved heretofore, were spent in the countrey, and went from hand to hande there, for Vittayle, cloth, and other thinges; and now are gone to one place out of *the* countrey. Another is, that diuers men whych had any ryches or wealth, vttered the same, to buy perelles of the sayd dissolved landes, lying commodities for them; whereby, one way & other, the whole riches of the countrey is sweeped away.

Truth it is, also, that it wringed the countrey abroad for the time, and had kept it so still if the Kynges Maiestye had not disperfed the same lands abroad among them in the countrey againe; but after *that* his highnes departed with a great deale of those possessions, part by gift and part by sale, treasure hath and will encrease againe, abroad, as much as euer it was, if it be not letted by other meanes; so that I take *that* to be no great cause of the dearth that we haue, for the soyle is not taken away, but the possession thereof is onely transferred from one kinde of persons to another.

Doctor.

[No, it only transferrd the possession of the land from one man here to another.]

Then, to retourne to the matter of the Coyne where wee ¹[l]eft, I haue heard your conceipte how the alteration thereof within our Realme did some Men no harme, as Buyers and sellers: some other it dyd good vnto, as Farmors that had Lande at the olde Rent; and some other, as Gentlemen, men of warre, seruants, and all other lyuing by any rated or stented rent or stipend, were great losers by it. But I heard you say it was so much withall to the losse of the Prynce, that it might be to the great perill of the whole Realme in proceffe of time. I meruayle how it shoulde bee so, for I hearde wise men say, that the Queenes highnesse Father did winne inestimable great summes by the altera[t]ion of the Coyne.

Knight.

[Fol. 35, back]

[How did Henry VIII.'s debasement of our Coin injure the Country?]

So it was for the time, but I liken that gaines to such as men haue when they sell away their Lands, to haue the greater some at one time, and euer after to loose the continuall increase what should grow therof. For you knowe al the treasure of this Realme must once in few yeares come to the Prynces handes by one meanes or other, and from thence it should goe abroad againe to the Subiects. As all Springes runneth to the *Ocean* Sea, & out of it are they spred abroad againe; then, as they came into the kings coffers at the first in good mettall, they came forth in such as you haue heretofore seene. And, albeit it seemeth at the first viewe to empouerishe but the subiects only, at length it empouerisheth also the Prynce; and then, if the Prince should want in time of warre, specially sufficient treasure to pay for armor, weapons, tacklings of shippes, gunnes, and other artillery, necessary for the warre, and could by no meanes haue of the subiectes wherewith to buy the same, what cause should the Realme be in? Surely in very euill; & therefore these Coynes and Treasure be not without cause called of wyse men, *Nerui bellorum*, (*that is to say*)

Doctor.

Howe the alteration of the Coyne should be most losse to the Prince.

[How can the Prince buy armor and artillery from abroad, with base coin?]

[Coin the Sinews
of War.]

[¹ Fol. 36]

[We can't have
base or fancy
coin, so long as
we want to buy
foreign goods.]

[Stafford's two
remedies :

1. stop the import-
ation of trifles ;

2. forbid the
export of raw,
unwrought,
materials.]

Knight.

[No Clothiers
wanted here.]

Doctor.

[² Fol. 36, back]

Knight.

[Unemployd
Clothiers the
cause of all
insurrections.]

the Synowes of Warre. And that is the greatest daunger that I doe consider shoulde growe for want of treasure to the Prince and the Realme ; for though a Prynce may haue what coyne he will currant within his Realme, yet the straungers cannot be compelled to take them. And I graunt, if men might liue within themselves, all together without borowinge of any other thing outwarde, we might deuise what coyne we woulde ; but since wee must haue neede of other, and they of vs, wee must frame our things, not after our owne phantasies, but to followe the common market of all the worlde ; and wee may not fet the price of things at our pleasure, but follow the price of the vniuerfall Market of the World. I graunt, also, that Brasse hath bene coyned ere this ; yea, & Leather in some places. But ener I reade, that was at an extreme neede, which thing is not to bee followed as an example, but to be eschewed as long as possible may be. And if our treasure be farre spent and exhaust, (as it happened in the later yeares of Kinge *Henry* the eight,) I could wish that any other order were taken for the recouery of it, then *the* deprauing of our coines, which serueth the Prince but a litle while, for some present shifte, and hindred him a long time afterwards. I am perswaded that within our Realme treasure might bee soone recovered by these two meanes : first, if we forbad the bringing in and selling of so many trifles as I before reherfed to be brought vs from beyond the sea, & that nothing made beyond the sea of our owne commodities shoulde be sould heere. And secondly, if we forbad that none of our commodities shoulde passe vnwrought ouer sea, which being wrought here, and sould ouer, should bring in infinite treasure in shorte time.

Mary, and there yee bee contrary to the opinions of many a great wife man, which thinke it better *that* all our wooll were sould ouer so vnwrought, then any Clothiers shoulde be set a worke withall within this realme.

That were a straunge thing, in myne opinion, that any man shoulde thinke so ; and what should mooue them to be ²of that opynion, I pray you ?

I will tell you. They take it, that all insurrections & vproares, for the most parte, do rise by occasion of these clothiers ; For, when clothiers lack vent ouer sea, then is a great multitude of these clothiers

idle; And, when they be idle, then they assemble in companies and murmur for lack of liuing, and so picke one quarrell or other to stirre the poore cominalty, that bee as idle as they, to a commotion. And, sometimes by occasion of warres, there must needes bee some stay of Clothes, so as they cannot haue alwayes lyke sale or vent; at euery which time, if the sayd Clothiers should take occasion of commotion, they thinke it were better that there were none of them in the Realme at all, and consequently, that *the* woll were vttered vnwrought ouer sea then to haue it wrought here.

Whether all
our Woll
were expedient
to be sould o-
uer vnwrought.

So it may seeme to them that considereth one inconuenience and not another. Surely, whosoeuer hath many Persons vnder his Gouvernaunce shall haue much a doe to gouerne them in quietnesse; and hee that hath a greate family, shall haue sometimes trouble in ruling of them. It were but a meane Pollicy, eyther for a Prince to deminish the hys number, for a Maister of a House to put away hys Seruaunts, because he would not haue any trouble with the gouernaunce of them; he that would so doe might be well refembled to a man that should sell his land because he would not bee troubled with the accompt of it. I thinke it meete that we did not onely encrease *the* feate of clothing, but also intend diuers other mo feates and occupations, wherby our People might bee set a worke, rather then take away any occupation from them; specially such as clothinge is, that setteth so many thousandes a worke, and enryche both Towne and Countrey. Where it is occupied in *Venice*, as I haue heard, and in many other places beyond Sea, they rewarde and chearish euery man that bryngs in any newe Arte or misterye, whereby the people might be set a worke, with such thinges as shoulde both finde their workemen, and also bring some treasure or other commodity into the Countrey. And shall we contrarywise labour to destroy our best and most profitable trade, which is by clothing? I would know what thinge els might bringe vs treasure from straunge parties, or wherewith shoulde so many of our people be set a worke, as haue nowe their lyuings by clothing, if that occupation were layde downe?

Doctor.

[We want our
cloth-making
trade increast,
and more trades
brought in.]

[Fol. 37]

Mysteries are
to be encrease(d)
rather than di-
minished.

Mary! wee might haue treasure ynough from outward Parties for our Woolles, though nonne were wrought within the Realme; And, as for an Occupation, to set our Clothiers a worke, they mighte bee set to the Plough and husbandry, and that should make husbandry to

Knighte.

[Set Clothiers to
ploughing.]

be the more occupied, & graſing leſſe, when all theſe people that nowe doe occupy clothing ſhould fall to huſbandry.

Doctor.

[If every one
bred ſheep,

we ſhould have
no men to defend
the realm.
And if Clothiers
turne Huſband-
men, they'd
ſtarve.]

[¹ Fol. 37, back]

[In France are
many trades,
and the artiſans
make rows,
but no one wants
to deſtroy the
men,

who are the
riches of the
land.]

Knight,

As to the firſt that yee ſayd, that Wooll is ſufficient to bring in treaſure; if it were (as it is not in deede,) yet that Feate were not for the Weale nor for continuance of the Realme. For when euery man would fall to breede ſheepe, and to increaſe Wooll, and ſo at length all other occupations ſhould bee ſet a ſide, and breedinge of ſheepe onely occupied; then yee knowe that a fewe ſheepe maiſters would ſerue for a whole Shyre; & ſo in proceſſe of time the multitude of the ſubiects ſhould be worne away, and none leſte but a fewe Shepherds, which were no number ſufficient to ſerue the Prince at neede, or to defende this realme from Enemies. As to the other parte of your tale, whereby yee woulde that theſe Clothiers ſhoulde fall from that occupation to huſbandry; how coulde ſo many added to them that occupy huſbandry already, get their lyuinge by the ſame, when they that bee huſbandmen nowe haue but a ſmall Lyuinge thereby? And if yee woulde ſay to mee that they ſhoulde haue at all times free vent and full Sale of ¹their corne ouer ſea, then commeth the ſame inconuenience in that ye thought to auoide before, by putting them from clothing. For ſome yeres it ſhould happen either for warres, or by reaſon of plenty in all partes beyond the Sea, that they ſhould haue no vent of their corne, and then be dryuen to be idle, and conſequently for lacke of liuing to aſſemble together, and make like vproares as ye ſpake of before.

They haue in *Fraunce* more handy craftes occupied, and a greater multitude of Artificers, then we haue here by a greate deale; and for all that they haue made many greate ſturres and commotions there before this, yet they will not deſtroy Artificers; for, they know *that* the higheſt Prynces of them all, without ſuch artificers, could not maintaine their eſtate. Doe not all theyr toules, cuſtomes, taxes, tal-lages, and ſubſidies, chiefly growe by ſuch artificers? What king can maineteine his eſtate with his yearly reuenues, onely growing of his landes? For, as many ſeruauents in a houſe, well ſet a worke, gaine enery man ſomewhat to their maiſter: So doth euery artifice in a Realme ech gaine ſomewhat; and altogether, a great maſſe to the king & his realm euery yeare it bringeth.

And now, becauſe we are entred into communication of artificers,

I will make this diuifion of them. Some of them doe but conuey money out of the countrey; Some other, that which they get, they doe fpend againe in the countrey. And the third forte of Artificers is of *them* that doe bring in Treafure into the countrey. Of the firft fort, I reckon all mercers, Grocers, Vintners, Haberdashers, Milleners, and fuch as doe fell wares growing beyond the fea, and do fetch out our treafure for the fame, which kinde of artificers, as I reckon them tollerable, yet not fo neceffary in a common Weale but they might be beft fpared of all other. Yet, if we had not other Artificers to bringe in as much treafure as they doe ¹cary forth, we fhould be greate loofers by them. Of the fecond forte bee thefe Shoomakers, Tailours, Carpenters, Mafons, Tylers, Bouchers, Brewers, Bakers, and Vi&tailers of all fortes, which, like as they get their liuing in *the* countrey, fo they fpend it; but they bring in no treafure vnto vs. Therefore, we muft chearifh well the third fort. And thofe be Clothiers, Tanners, Cappers, and Worftedmakers, onely that I knowe, (which by their mifteries & faculties) do bring in any treafure. As for our wolles, felles, Tinne, Ledde, Butter, and Cheefe, thefe be commodities that the ground beares, requyring the induftrye of a fewe perfons; and if wee fhoulde onely truft to fuch, and deuysé nothing els to occupy our felues with, a few perfons would ferue for the rearing of fuch thinges, and few alfo it would finde; and fo fhould our realme be but like a grange, better furnifhed with beaftes then with men, whereby it mighte be fubie&te to the fpoile of other nations; aboute whych is the more to be feared and efchued, becaufe the countrey of his owne kinde is apte to bringe forth fuch thinges as bee for encrease of cattell, then for fuch thinges as be for *the* nourifhment of men. If *Pomponius Mela* be to be beleueed, which, defcrying thys Ilande, fayeth thus: *Plana, ingens, & ferax: fed eorum, que pecora, quàm homines benignius alant*; That is to fay, 'it is playne, large, & plentifull. But of thefe thinges that nourifheth Beaftes more kindly then men.' So many Forrestes, Chafes, Parkes, Marfhes, and wafte groundes being more here then moft commonly elfwhere, declare the fame not to bee all in vayne that hee affyrmes. It hath not fo much erable Grounde, Vynes, Olyues, Fruites, and fuch as bee both moft neceffary for the foode of men. And as they requyre many hands in their culture, fo they finde moft perfons foode, as *Fraunce* and diuerfe other Countries haue.

Three fortes of Artificers.

[1. Middlemen importers.]

One bringeth out our Treafure.

[1 Fol. 38, mis-numbered 34]

A nother fpend that they get in the fame countrey a-gayne.

The third sort bring in Treafure, and therefore muft be cherifhed.

[Our land brings forth food for beafts rather than men.]

Pomp. Me.

[Fol 38, back]

[New trades wanted in England.]

Mysteries doe enrich countreys that be els barren.

[See how Flanders and Germany are enriched by their manufactures.]

Knight.

[Fol. 39]

Doctor.

Alliance vvith straungers are to be purchased and kept.

Therefore, as much ground¹ as is here apte for these things, would be tourned as much as may be to such vses as may finde moste persons. And ouer that townes and Cities would be replenished wyth all kinde of Artificers, not onely clothyers, which is, as it were, our naturall occupation, but with Cappers, Glouers, Paper-makers, Glasiers, Paynters, Golde-smithes, blacke-smithes of al sortes, Couerlet-makers, needle-makers, pinners, and such other; so as we should not onely haue inough of such things to serue our Realme, and faue an infynite treasure that goeth now ouer for many of the fame; but also might spare of such things ready wrought to be solde ouer, whereby we should fetch againe other necessary commodities or treasure. And this shoulde both replenish the Realme of People able to defende it, and also faue & winne much treasure to the fame. Such occupations alone do enrich diuers countreies that be else barren of them selues.

And what riches they bring to the Countries where they be well vsed, the Countrey of Flaunders and Germanie do well declare, where, through such occupations, it hath so many & eke so wealthy Cities *that* it were almost incredible so litle ground to sustaine so much people. Wherefore, in my minde they are far wide of right consideration, *that* would haue either none or els lesse clothing *within* this Realme, because it is some time occasion of busines & tumultes, which commeth for lacke of vent. There is nothing euery way so commodious or necessary for mans vse, but it is sometimes, by ill handling, occasion of some displeasure, no, not fier and water that be so necessary, as nothing can be more.

Yea, master Doctor, we stand not in like case as *Fraunce* or *Flaunders* that yee speake of; if they haue not vente one way, they may haue it another way allwaies, for the firme land is rounde about them in maner. If they bee at warre with one Neyghbour, they will bee friendes with another,² to whose Countreies they may sende theyr commodities to sell.

So may wee bee, if wee were so wyse to keepe one Friende or other alwayes in hande. Who will bee so mad, being a Priuate man, but hee will be sure to doe so? Let wyse men consider what Friendes this Realme hath had in time past. And if they bee nowe lost or intercepted another way since, let vs purchase other for them; or els geue as litle occasion of breache with our Neyghbours as may bee.

The Wyfe man, as I remember, sayth in *Ecclesiastes* : *Non est bonum homini esse solum.*

Also, in Fraunce they haue diuerse Bandes of men in Armes, in diuerse places of the Realme, to repressẽ such Tumults quickly if any should arise. If wee had the like heere, wee might bee bould to haue as many Artificers as they haue.

GOD sworbote¹ that euer wee shoulde haue any such Tyrauntes come among vs; for, as they say, such will in the Countrey of Fraunce take poore mens Hennes, Chikens, Pigges, and other prouision, and paye nothinge for it, except it bee an ill turne, as to Rauishe hys Wyfe or his Daughters for it. and euen in like manner sayd the Marchaunt man; adding thereto, that hee thought that woulde rather bee an occasion of Commotions to bee stirred, then to bee quenched. For (as hee sayd) the Stomaks of Englishe men woulde neuer beare to suffer such Iniuries and Reproches, as hee heard that such vsed to doe to the Subiects of Fraunce, which in reproche they call Pesaunts.

Mary, the Prynce might restrayne them well ynough, for doing Outrages, vpon great paynes.

What if it were skant in his power to do? the *Romaines* had sometimes such men of armes in diuerse places for defence of the Empyre, it was thought, that at length it ouer²threwe the same. *Iulius Cæsar* doth that declare; and many times after that, when the Emperors died, the men of warre erected what Emperor they lysted, sometime of a Slaue or a Bondman, contrary to the election of the *Senate of Rome*, being chiefe Counsaylors of the Empyre, till the whole Empyre was cleane destroyed; it is not for commotions of Subiects that Fraunce also keepeth such, but the state and necessity of the Countrey, which is enuironed about with enemies, and neither sea nor wall betwene them, against whose Inrodes and inuasion they mayntayne those men of warr of necessity. They would faine lay them downe, if they durst, for feare of their neighbours. And some wyfe men among them haue sayd and written, that the same men of Armes may bee the destruction of their Kingdome at length. And beside that the largeness of our Dominion, or Situation of the same towarde other Countreyes, doth not require such men, nor yet the reuenewes of this realme, is able to make vp the like number with Fraunce. And then if we should make a lesse number, wee should declare our selues in-

Knight.

Whether great Armies bee as necessary heere as in Fraunce.

Husband.

[¹ Gods forbode, God's forbidding. p. 74.]
[Tyranny over the poor in France.]

Marchaunt.

[French 'Peasants.']

Knight.

Doctor.

[² Fol. 39, back

[France must keep troops;

and yet they may destroy the country.]

A lesse grieve
vould not be
holpen vvith a
greater sore.

feriour in power to Fraunce, to whom wee haue bene hitherto counted Superiour in successe, through the stoutenesse of our Englishe hartes. And therefore I would not haue a small fore cured by a greater grieve, nor for auoydinge of populer sedition, which happeneth very seldome and soone quenched, to bring in a continuall yoake, & charge both to the Prince and the people.

Knighte. You say well, and so as I can say no more against your sentence, but yet I would wishe your saying coulede satisfie other men as well as it doth mee.

Doctor. Well, it is nowe tyme to make an ende. I haue troubled you heere with a tedious and longe talke.

Knight. I could be content to be troubled longer of that forte.

Marchaunt & Capper. And so coulede wee, though it were all this day, but for troubling of your selfe, gentle maister Doctor.

Knighte. ¹Yet the most necessary poynte which we spake of is yet behinde, that is, how these things may be remedied; And therefore we will not goe from you, till wee haue hearde your aduice herein.

Doctor. A Gods name, I will shewe my phantasie in that part; But let vs first goe to supper. And so wee went together to our Supper, where our Hoste had prepared honestly for vs.

[p. 73, l. 7. *God sworbote*. Compare in the Percy Folio *Robin Hood*, &c., p. 18, l. 59, vol. i.,

"Now Marry, *gods forbott*" said the Sheriffe,
"that euer that shold bee."

The phrase occurs again in p. 30, l. 64; p. 393, l. 1230. "Forebedyng (or *forbode*, or forefendyng). *Prohibicio, inhibicio*."—*Promptorium*, ab. 1440 A.D.]

THE THIRD DIA-

[Fol. 40, back]

logue, wherein are deuifed

*some remedies for the fame
griefes.*



After wee had well refreshed our felues at supper, I thought long til I had knowne the iudgement of mayster Doctor about the remedies of the thinges aboue remembred, how he thought they might bee best redressed, and with least daunger or alteration of things. (And therefore I sayd vnto him thus:) Since yee haue declared vnto vs (good maister Doctör) our diseases, and also the occasions thereof, we pray you leaue vs not destitute of conuenient remedies for the same. You haue perswaded vs full, and wee perceauē it well our felues, that wee are not now in so good state as wee haue bene in times past. And you haue shewed vs probable occasions that hath brought vs to that case, therefore now wee praye you shewe vnto vs what mighte remedye these our griefes.

Knight.

[Pray, Doctor, tell us the remedies for our country's ills.]

When a man doth perceauē his griefe, and the occasion also of the same, hee is in a good way of amendment. For, knowing the occasion of the griefe, a man may soone auoide the same occasion; and that being auoyded, the griefe is also taken away. For as the Phylosopher sayth: *Sublata causa tollitur effectus*. But, let vs briefly recount the griefes and then the occasions thereof, and thirdly goe to the inquisition of the remedies for the same. First, this vniuersall ¹dearth, in comparision of *that* former age, is the chiefeft griefe *that* all men complaines most on. Secondly, Inclosures, & turnyng of erable Grounde to pasture. Thyrdly, decayinge of Townes, Towneshippes, and Villages; and last, deuision & diuersitie of opinions in religion. The occasions or causes of these, although I haue before diuersely

Doctor.

[The ills are,

1. Dearth.

[² Fol. 41]

2. Inclosures, and turnyng Arable into Pasture.

3. Decay of Townes.

4. Religious Differences.]

[The Doctor's
Prologue.]

The originall
cause in euery
thing is to be
searched.

[Analogies of,
1. a crowd at a
narrow passage ;

2. a clock ; and

3. the building
of a house.]

[The original
cause call'd
'efficient'.]

[Fol. 41, back]

Diuerser sortes
of causes there
bee.

[The primary
cause to be
distinguish'd
from secondary
causes.]

Cic top.
Lib. 5.

declared after the diuersitie of mens myndes and opinions. Yet heere I wyll take out of the fame ; But only such as I thinke verely to be the very iust occasions in deede. For, as I shewed you before, diuers men diuersly iudge this or that to be the cause or occasion of thys or that gryefe ; and because there may be diuers causes of one thinge, and yet but one pryncipal cause that bryngeth forth the thinge to passe : Let vs seeke oute *the* cause, omitting all the meane causes, whych are driuen forward by the least oryginall cause. As in a presse going in at a straight, the formost is driuen by him that is nexte hym, & the next by him that followes him, and the thyrd by some violent and stronge thinge that dryues hym forward, which is the first and pryncipall cause of the puttynge forward of the rest afore him. If he were kept backe and staied, al they that goe afore would stay withal. To make this more plain vnto you : as in a clocke there be many wheelles, yet the first wheele being styrred, it dryueth the next, and that the thyrd, &c., till the last that moues the Instrument that fryckes the clock ; So in making of an house, there is the Mayster that would haue the house made, there is the Carpenter, & there is the stuffe to make the house with al ; *the* stuffe neuer stirres till the Workeman do set it forward ; the workeman neuer trauailes but as *the* maister prouoketh him *with* good wages : and so he is the pryncipall cause of thys house making. And this cause is of *the* learned called 'efficient' ; as that *that* bryngeth the pryncipal thing to effect. Perswade this man to let this buildyng alone, and the house shall neuer come to passe, yet the house can not bee made wythout the stuffe, and worke¹men ; and therefore they be called of some *causæ sine quibus non*, and of some other *Materiales & Formales* ; but all commeth to one purpose. It is the efficient cause, *that* is, the pryncipall cause, without remouing of which cause *the* thing that cannot be remedied. And because that it was graffed in euery mans iudgement, *that* the cause of any thing being taken away, the effecte is taken away withall ; Therefore Men tooke the causes of these thynges that we talke of wythout Iudgement, not discerning the pryncipall cause from the meane causes, that by taking away of these causes that bee but secondary, as it were, they were neuer the neare to remedy the thing they went about. Much lyke the wyfe of *Aiax* that lost her husband in *the* shippe called *Argos*, wished *that* those Firre beames had neuer

bene felled in *Peleius* wood, whereof the sayd shippe was made, when that was not the efficient cause of the loosing of her husbände, but the wild fire cast in the said shippe, which did set it a fyre. Such causes as they be, be called remote, as it were to farre of; so they bee also idle and of no operation of themselves, without some other to set them a worke. And percase, I (whyle I degresse so farre from my matter) shalbe thought to goe as far from the purpose; yet to come to our matter, and to apply thys *that* I haue sayde to the same. Some thinkes this Dearth beginnes by the tenaunt, in selling his wares so deare; & some other by the Lord, in reysing his land so high. And some by these inclosures. And some other by the reysing of our coine, or alteration of the same. Therefore, some by taking some one of these things away, (as theyr opinion serued them to be the pryncipall cause of this dearth) thought to remedye this dearth; But as the tryall of the thyng shewed, they touched not the cause efficient pryncipall; and therefore theyr deuise tooke no place: and if they had, the thinge had ben remedied forthwith, for that is proper to the pryncipal cause, that as soone as it is taken away, the effect is remoued also. ²Yet I confesse al these thinges rayseth together with this dearth, that euery of them should seeme to be the cause of it; neuertheless, that is no good prooffe that they should bee the causes of it, no more then was the steeple made at *Douer*³ the cause of the decay of the Hauen of *Douer*, because the Hauen began to decay the same time that the Steeple began to be builded. Nor yet, though some of these because of the other in deede, yet they be not all the efficient causes of this dearth. But as I haue sayd before, of men thrusting one another in a thronge, one dryuing another, and but one first of al, that was the chiefe cause of that force; So in this matter that we talke of, there is some one thing that is the oryginall cause of these causes; that be, as it were, secundary, and makes them to be the causes of other. As I take the reysing of al prises of victuals at the husbandmans hand, is cause of the raysing of the rent of his land. And that Gentlemen fall so much to take fearmes to theyr hands, least they bee driuen to buy theyr p[ro]uision so deare, that is a great cause againe that Inclosure is the more vsed; For Gentlemen hauinge much land in their hand, and not being able to weilde all, & see it manured in husbandry, which requyareth the industry, laboure, and gouernaunce of a greate many of persons, doe conuerte

[Remote causes need not be considered.]

Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

[¹ orig. attestation]

[The principal or efficient cause of the Dearth has not yet been toucht.]

[² Fol. 42]

[Tenterden steeple and Dover harbour.]

[³ Tenterden.]

Howe one thing is cause of another, & that of the third.

[Is the chief
cause of the
Dearth in the
Merchant?]

moste of that Lande to Pastures, wherein is requyred both lesse charge of Persons, and of the which neuerthelesse commeth more cleare gaines. Thus one thyng hanges vpon another, and sets forwarde one another, but one first of all is *the* chiefe cause of all this circuler motion & impulsion. I shewed, ere while, that *the* chiefe cause was not in the husbandman, nor yet in *the* Gentleman. Let vs see whether it were in the marchaunt man. It appeareth by reason that all wares bought of him are dearer now far then they were wont to be; the husbandman is dryuen to sel his commodities dearer. now *that* the matter is brought to maister marchaunt, how can yee auoyde the cause from being in you?

Marchaunt.
[3 Fol. 42, back]

¹ Sir, easily ynough; for as wee sell now dearer al things then wee were wont to do, So wee buy dearer all thinges of straungers; and therefore let them put the matter from vs, for we will disburden our selues of this fault.

Doctor.

And they be not here to make aunswere; if they were, I woulde aske them why they sell their wares dearer nowe then they were wont to doe?

Marchaunt.

Mary! and to that I hearde many of them aunswere ere this (when they were asked that question) two manner of wayes. One was, they felled in deede no dearer then they were wont to do; saying for prooffe thereof, that they would take for theyr commodities as much and no more of our commodities then they were wont to do. As for our tod of woll, they would gieue asmuch Wyne, Spice, or Silke as they were wont to geue for so much. Yea, for an ounce of our siluer or golde, as much stufte as euer was geuen for *the* same. And their other answere was, *that* if we reckened they did sell their wares dearer because they demaunded moe pieces of our coyne for the same then they were wont to do, that was not their fault, they saide, but oures, that made our pieces lesse, or lesse worth then they were in times past. Therefore, they demaunded the moe pieces of them for their Wares: saying, they cared not what names wee woulde gieue oure coynes, they would confider *the* quantity & right value of it, that they were esteemed at euery where through *the* world.

The straungers
aunswere touch-
ing this
dearth.

[That because
our coin was
debasd, they
wanted more of
it for their
goods.]

Knight.

Then I would haue answered *them* there of this sorte. If they came hether but for our commodities, what made it *the* matter to them what quantity or value our coyne were? If so, they might haue

as much of our commodities for *the* same as they were wont to do. If they came againe for our siluer and golde, It was neuer lawfull, nor yet is expedient they should haue any from vs. Wherefore, I would thinke that was no cause why they should sell theyr wares dearer then they were wonte to doe.

[Then let
foreigners take
our goods, and
let our coin
alone.]

¹Then he might haue aunswered againe, that it chaunfed not all wayes together, that when they had wares which we wanted, we had againe al those wares *that* they looked for. And therefore they, hauinge perceafe more wares necessary for vs then we had of such wares as they looked for, would be glad to receiue of vs such stuffe currant in most places as might buy that they looked for else where at their pleasure; And that they will say was not our coyne. And as for our lawes of not transporting ouer sea any Gold or siluer, they passed not thereof, so they mighte haue the same once conueyed them; As they had many waies to haue it so, which I haue before remembred. Finally, hee might say that we had not in deede our coyne in that estate our selues, that by the name they pretended, but esteemed both the value & quantity of the stuffe it was made of. For if they had brought vnto vs halfe an ounce of siluer, wee would not take it for an ounce; nor if they brought vs brasse mingled with Siluer, we woulde not take it for pure Siluer; and if wee woulde not take it so at their handes, why shoulde they take it otherwise at ours? Then they saw no man heere but woulde rather haue a cup of siluer then of brasse, no, not the maister of our mints, though they would otherwise perswade the one to be as good as the other. Wherefore, seing vs esteeme the one in deede better then the other, as all the world doth beside, why should they not esteeme our coine after *the* quantity and value of the substaunce thereof, both after the rate it was esteemed amonge vs, & also euery other where? And so as in moe pieces now, there is but the value that was in fewer pieces afore, therefore they demaunded greater number of pieces, but yet the like value in substaunce that they were wont to demaund for their wares. Now let vs see whether now goeth the cause of this matter? from the fraungers; For me thinkes he hath resonably excused himselfe & put it from him.

Doctor.
[¹ Fol. 43]

[But suppose
they don't want
so much goods
of us as we do of
them,

why should they,
for the balance,
take our debas'd
coin as pure?]

²By your tale it must bee in the coyne, and consequently in the Kinges highnes, by whose commaundement *the* same was altered.

Knight.
[² Fol. 43, back]

Doctor.

[Henry VIII.
debasd our coin,
thinking that it
'ud be a benefit
to the realm;
but it's been a
great loss.]

Yea, percase it goes further yet; yea, to such as were the first counsaillours of that deede, pretending it should bee to his highnes greate and notable commoditie, whych, if hys grace mought haue perceined to haue ben but a momenta in profit, and continuall losse both to his highnes and also his whole Realme, Hee with his people might haue ben easly reuoked againe from *the* practise of that simple deuise. But as a man that entendeth to heale an other by a Medicine *that* he thinketh good, though it prooue otherwise, is not much to be blamed; no more was the kinges maiesty in any wyse, (in whose time this was don, which is not to be supposed to haue intended thereby any losse, but rather commoditie to himselfe and his subiects) to be herein reprehended, albeit the thing succeded beside the purpose.

Knight.

Then yee thinke plainly *that* this alteration of *the* coine was the chiefe and principall cause of this vniuerfall dearth?

Doctor.

That the alteration of the coyne vvas the very cause of this dearth, and consequently of other grief, euer since that time.

Yea, no doubt, and of many of *the* sayd grieues that we haue talked of, by meanes it beinge the oryginall of all; and that beside the reason of the thing beinge plaine inough of it self, also experience & prooffe doth make it more playne. For euen with *the* alteration of *the* coyne began this dearth; and as the coyne appayred, so rose the prices of thinges with all; & this to be true, *the* few pieces of olde coyne which afterward remained did testefie; for yee should haue for any of *that* same coyne as much of any ware, either outward or inward, as euer was wont to be had for the same. For as the measure is made lesse, there goeth more number to make vp the tale; and because this rayfed not together at all mens handes, therefore some hath greate losses, and some other greate Gaynes thereby, and that made such a generall grudge for the thinge at the firste time. And thus to conclude, ¹I thinke this alteration of *the* Coine to haue ben *the* first originall cause that straungers first sould their wares dearer to vs, and that made all Farmors, and Tenaunts, that reared any commodity, agiane to sell *the* same dearer. The Dearth thereof made the Gentlemen to rayse their rents, & to take Farmes to their handes for their better prouision, and consequently to inclose more Groundes.

[1 Fol. 44]

[The debasement of our Coin was the original cause of the Dearth.]

Knight.

If this were the chiefest cause of the dearth, as of very good probability (by you, maister Doctor) heeretofore alleaged, it should seeme to be; how commeth it to passe (where as you say, if the cause be re-

moued, the effect is also taken away) that the pryces of all thinges fall not backe to theyr olde rate, whereas now long sithence our english coyne (to the great honour of our noble Princeesse which now raighneth) hath bene again throughly restored to his former purity and perfection?

[But Q. Eliz. has restord our Coin to its original purity.]

In deede, sir, I must needes confesse vnto you (although it may seeme at the first fighte to discredite my former sayinges in some parte) that, notwithstanding that our Coyne at this present day, yea, and many yeares past, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse, yet the dearth of all thynges, which I before affirmed to haue proceded of the decay therof, to remayne and continue still amongst vs. Wherefore as your doubte, herein moued very aptly and to the purpose, is well worthy the consideration, so doe I accompte it of such difficulty, *that* perhaps it would not be thought to stande wyth modesty to vndertake without farther study presently to dissolue the same.

[True. And the Dearth still continues.]

Syr, I pray you for this time omit the pleadinge of modesty. I vnderstand wel ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnprouided of sufficient store (without farther deliberation) to satisfie vs withall, in greater matters (if neede were) then these.

Doctor.

Well¹, I am content (because you wyll haue it so) to² yeelde to your importunity. I will vtter franckely vnto you myne Opinion herein, but vnder protestation, that if you like it not, yee reiect it, imparting likewise with mee your owne Phantasies and Iudgementes in the same. I fynde therefore two speciall causes, in myne Opinion, by meanes of the which, notwithstanding *that* restitution made in our coin, the aforesayd dearth of things (in respect of the former age) remaineth yet among vs. The first is, that whereas immediately after the basenesse of our Coyne in the time of kyng *Henry* the eight, *the* prices of all things generally among al sorts of people rose; it must needes happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen, which liued onely vpon the reuenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the smarte hereof then any other, of what order or estate so euer. Thys therefore being taken as most true, the Gentlemen, desirous to mayntaine theyr former credite in bearing out *the* Porte of theyr Predecessors, were driuen of necessity as often as whensoever any Leafes deuised for terme of yeares by *themselues* or their Auncestors were throughly expyred, & fel into

Doctor.

[¹ orig. Wwell!
² Fol. 44, back]

[Two causes of the dearth of thinges.]

[1. The debasing of our coin by Henry VII This raised prices.]

[The raising of
prices raisd
Rents on Lease

[This raisd the
price of food,
and all other
articles.]

[1. Fol. 45]

[If we want our
old pen'orths or
prices, we must
get Rents
lowerd.]

[2. The great
increase of
money in our
daies, from
India, &c.]

[Some years
ago a man with
£30 or £40 a
year was
thought rich.
Now he's con-
siderd next
door to a
beggar.]

Knight.

theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the most part, but as the rents of them were farre racked beyond the old; Yea, this rackynge and hoyssing vp of Rentes hath continued euer since *that* tyme, vntill this present day. Hereupon the husbandman was necessarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before (and so continueth vnto this day), to sel his Victayles dearer, & to continue the dearth of them; and likewise other artificers withall, to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares; wherefore as this dearth at the fyrst time (as I said before) sprang of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firste and chiefeff efficient cause, so doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto and so forward, partely to the racked and stretched rentes, which haue lasted, yea, and increased euer since that time hetherunto, & so are like to continue I know not how long. Now if we would in these our dayes haue the olde pennyworthes generally restored among vs agayne, The restoring of our good Coine, which allredy is past, (& before *the* improued rentes would only of it selfe haue been sufficient to haue brought this matter to passe,) will not serue in these our dayes, except withall the racked rentes bee pulled downe, which possibly can not be without the common consent of our landed men throughout *the* whole realme. Another reason I conceiue in this matter to be *the* great store & plenty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of *the* world far more in these our dayes *then* euer our forefathers haue sene in times past. Who doth not vnderstand of *the* infinite summes of gold & siluer, which are gathered from *the Indies* & other countries, and so yearly transported into these costes? As this is otherwise most certaine, so doth it euidently appeare by the common report of all auncient men liuing in these daies. It is their constant report, *that* in times past, & within *the* memory of man, he hath beene accounted a rich & welthy man, & well able to keepe house among his neighbors, which, all things discharged, was clearely worth xxx. or xl.li.; but in these our daies *the* man of *that* estimation is so farre in the common opinion from a good house-keeper, or man of wealth, *that* he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore these ii. reasons seemed vnto me to contain in them sufficient probability for causes of the continuance of this generall dearth.

Yea, but (sir) if the increaf of treasure be partly the occasion of this continued dearth, *then* by likelyhoode in other our neighbors na-

tions, vnto whom yearly is conuaigned great store of gold and siluer, the pryces of victayles, and other wares in like sorte, rayfed according to the increafe of their treasure.

It is euen so; and therefore to vtter freely mine opinion, as I account it a matter very hard for the difficulties aboute reherfed to reuoke or call backe agayne all our English wares vnto their old prices, so doe I not take it to be eyther profitable or conuenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wishe that our commodities should bee vttered good cheape to straungers, and theirs, on *the* other side, deare vnto vs, which could not be without great impouerishing of the Common weale in a very shorte time.

Now that you haue so well touched the occasion of this dearth, and what is to be hoped or wished of *the* same, so fully that I am well satisfied withall, I pray you shewe me the remedies of these great Inclosures, whereof al the realme complaineth of so much, and hath complaind long vpon. For you haue well perswaded how it is a meane of greate defolation of this realme, and that is longe of *the* great profit that men haue by pasture, ouer *that* they haue by tillage, *that* they turne so much to pasture. Now I woulde fayne heare how it might bee remedied againe; for I haue hearde this matter of long time, & often reasoned vpon aswell in Parliament as in Counsayles, & yet small remedy found therefore that tooke effect.

If I then, after so many wise heades as were in those Parliaments and Counsayles, would take vpon me to correct (as they say) *Magnificat*, & to finde a remedye for this thinge which they could neuer doe, I might bee reckened very arrogant.

Yet tell your phantasie therein; for though you misse of the right meane to reforme that, it shall bee no more shame for you to doe so, then it was for so many wise men as yee speake of to misse.

You say truth, and since I speake nothing in this part *that* I would haue taken as it were for a law or determined thing, but as a certayne motion for other wise men to consider, & to admit or reiect as to their better reason shall seeme good; therefore, as yee haue boldned me already with your patience to say thus farre, I will not spare to declare my minde in ²this. But still I must keepe my grounde that I spake of, that is, to try out the effectuall cause of these inclosures, and then, by taking away of the cause, to redresse the thinge.

Doctor.

[¹ Fol. 45. back]

Knight.

[Pray tell me the remedies for the Inclosures of Common lands.]

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

[² Fol. 46]

Knight.

I pray you doe so; for to mee it seemes very reasonable that ye say, and agreeable to that I heard a good Phisition tell mee once, when I was sicke of an ague: when I asked him why he gaue me purgations that made me yet weaker then I was, being weake inough allredy, saying hee had more neede to giue me thinges that should make me stronger; Then he answered me that choler was *the* cause of my sicknes, and that hee gaue me those purgations to auoyde this humour, which being the cause of my diseafe once taken away, the sicknes should bee ridde from me withall. And, therefore, I pray you vse your accustomed order in this matter, and tel the cause of these Inclosures.

Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

[A doctor gives a purge for ague to clear out its cause, the choler.]

Doctor.

I shewed you before in our communication in the Garden, the thinges that I thought to be the cause thereof, and partly the remedy of the same.

Knighte.

So did other men among vs tell theyr fanisie as then; but now we pray you tell which of all those causes ye take for the necessary and efficient cause of this matter.

Doctor.

[Avarice is the chief cause of Enclosures.]
How Inclosures may be remedied.

To tel you plaine, it is Auarice *that* I take for *the* principall cause thereof; but can we deuise *that* all couetousnes can be taken from men? No, no more then we can make men to be *without* wealth, without gladnes, without feare, and without all affections; what then? we must take away from men the occasion of their couetousnes in this part; what is that? the exceeding luker that they se grow by these inclosures more then by their husbandry. And that may be done by any of these two meanes that I will tell you: Either by *the* minishing of the luker that men haue by grafing; Or els by aduaunting of the profite of husbandry, til it be as good and as profitable to the occupiers as grafing is; for euery man (as *Plato* saith) is naturally couetous of luker. And *that* wherein they see ¹most luker, they will most gladly exercise. I shewed you before, that there is more luker by grafing of x. Acres to *the* occupier alone, then is in *the* tillage of xx. And *the* causes thereof be many: one is, *that* grafing requires small charge & small labor, which in tillage consumes much of *the* mens gaines; though it be true *that* the tillage of x. acres brings more gaines generally amonge the maister & all his mainy, then the grafing of xx. acres. Another great cause is, that whatsoever thing is rered vpon grafing, hath free vente both ouer this side & also beyond the sea, to

[1. Lessen the profit of grazing, or
2. greaten that of tillage.]

Omnes sunt lucri cupidi.

[¹ Fol. 46, back]

[There's more profit now by grazing than tillage.]

be sold at the higheft penny. It is contrary of all thinges reared by tillage, for it requires both great charge of seruants & of labor. And also if any good cheape be of corne, it paieth scant for the charge of the tillage. And then if the market doe arise, either within the Realme or without, the poore husband shalbe so restrained from selling his corn, that he neuer after shall haue any ioy to set his plough in the ground; which maketh euery man forsake tillage and fall to grasing, which bringeth in all these Inclosures.

[Causes of tillage paying so badly.]

Now, what remedy for that?

Knighte.

Mary! as for the first poynt, that is, touching the vnequal charges of tillage and grasing, that can not be holpen in all pointes, by reason the nature of both reapes the contrary. Therefore the latine tongue calles the one, that is, pasture, *pratum*, that is as much to say as *paratum*, ready. But the other thinge might be remedied, that the husbandman might haue as much liberty at all times to sell his corn, either within the Realme or without, as the grasier hath to sell his; which would make the husbandmen more willing to occupy their plough. And other, seeing them thrive, would turn their pasture to tyllage. And, though it enhaunse the market for the time, yet woulde it cause much more tillage to be vsed, and consequently more Corne, which in time of plenty within this Realme might bringe in much treasure; & in time of scarcitey would suffice for the realme, as I shew^d you before. And thus with luker they should bee entysed to occupy the Plough, yea, & with other priuileges. I haue red that in this realme sometime there was such a lawe, as a man that had trespassed the lawe of misadventure, mought haue taken the Plough tayle for his sanctuary. Also that occupation was had so honourable amonge the *Romains*, that one was taken from houlding the plough to bee *Consull* in *Rome*, who after his yeare ended, thought no scorne to resort to the same feate againe. What occupation is so necessary or so profitable for mans life as this is? Or what mistery is so voyd of all craft as the same is? & how litle it is regarded; yea, how much is it despised, that many in these daies repute them but as villains, pefauts, or slaues, by whome the proudest of them haue their liuings. So that I maruaile much there is any (seeing such a vility & contempt of the thing) will occupy the feat of husbandry at all; For as honour nourisheth all sciences, so dishonor must needs decay them. And there-

Doctor.

Pratum quasi paratum.

[There should be no restraint on the sale of corn.]

[Fol. 47]

[Once the plough-tail was a sanctuary.]

[Husbandry is now despised. Farmers are thought villains.]

[Honour husbandry: give it profit;

put a double tax on pasture, and on exported wool.]

[Thus grazing would be discourag'd and Enclosures broken down.]

[¹ Fol. 47, back]

[Again, keep up the old system of mixing land ownd by different people. This obliges all to keep their lands open.]

Marchaunt.

Of Townnes decayed.

Doctor.

fore if ye will haue husbandry encreased, ye must honor & cherish it; *that* is, to let them haue honest gaines thereby; & since *that* gains shall come into youre countrey, why should you be offended therewith? Another way is to abate the commodity of graſing, as when any tax is requisite to be graunted to *the* Prince, if lands be chargeable thereto, to charge one aker of pasture as much as two of erable. Or els to burden wolls & fells, & such things as are reared by graſing, *that* passe to *the* partes beyond *the* sea vnwrought, with double tallage ouer any corn transported; and by enhaunſing the profite of tillage, and abasing of the profite of graſing, I doubt not but husbandry would be more occupied and graſing much lesse; And therby these inclosures to be broken vp. Also there is one thing of old time ordeined in this realme, which being kept vnaltered would helpe hereunto also; that is, where men are enter comminers in *the* common fields, & also haue their portions so entermedled one with another, that though they would, they could not enclose any part of *the* sayd fields so long as it is so. ¹ But of late, diuers men, finding greater profite by graſing then by husbandry, haue founde the meanes either to buy their neighbors partes round aboute them, or els to exchange with them so many acres in this place for so many in another, whereby they might bringe all theyr landes together, and so inclose it. For the auoiding whereof, I think verely that it was so of olde time ordeined, that euery Tenaunt had his lande not all in one parcell of euery field, but enterlaced with his neighbors landes, so as here should bee three acres, and then his neighbour should haue as many; & ouer that, he other iii. or iiii., and so after the like rate be *the* most partes of the copy holdes that I doe know in this countrey; which I thinke good were still so continued, for auoyding of the sayd enclosures. And thus farre as touching *that* matter.

Now that you haue well declared your opinion in these matters of the common dearth and enclosures, I pray you tell vs your minde what should be the occasion of the decay of the good Townes of this realme, & of all Bridges, Highwayes, and hospitalles; and how the same may be remedied and releued againe. For that these husbandmen & dwellers of the countrey finde not so great lacke in the fieldes abroad, but Citizens and Burgeses finde as much within theyr walles

Since I haue begon to take vpon me to tell my phanſie in all these

things, I will goe through. In mine opinion, *the* good occupations heretofore vsed in the sayd Townes were occasion of theyr wealth in times past, and the laying down of those occupations againe is the cause of the decay of the same townes. Wherefore, if such occupations may be reuyued againe in the same, they would recouer their former wealth againe.

[Bring back to the Towns their old Trades]

I beleene that well, that the decay of the occupations was the decay of these townes; but what, I pray you, was ¹the occasion of such decay of the occupations?

Marchaunt.

[1 Fol. 48]

I will tell you: while men were contented with such as were made in the market townes next vnto them, then were they of our Townes & Cities well set a worke; as I knewe the time when men were contented with Cappes, Hattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of garmentes made in the townes next adioyning; whereby the Townes were then well occupied and set a worke, and yet the money payd for the same stufte remayned in the country. Now, the poorest younge man in a country cannot be content with a lether gyrdle, or lether poyntes, Kniues or Daggers, made nigh home. And specially, no Gentleman can be contente to haue eyther Cappe, Cote, Dublet, Hose, or shyрте, in his country, but they must haue this geare come from London; and yet many things hereof are not there made, but beyond the sea; whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and specially of the townes beyond the seaes, are well set a worke, euen vpon our costes. Therefore I would wish some stay were deuised for comming of so many trifles from beyond the Sea, and specially of such things as might be made here among our selues; or els might bee either all spared, or els lesse vsed among vs; as these drinking and looking glaffes, paynted clothes, perfumed gloues, daggers, kniues, pines, pointes, agletes, buttons, and a thousand other thinges of like forte. As for silkes, wines, and spice: if there came lesse ouer, it made no matter. But specially, I would that nothing made of our commodities, as wolles, felles, and tinne, should be brought from beyond the sea to be solde here, but *that* all those should be wrought within this realme. were it not better for vs *that* our owne people were set a worke with such thinges then straungers? I am sure xx. thousand persons might be set a worke within this realme, that are set a worke beyond sea with those thinges that now

Doctor.

The occasion of the decay of our Townes.

[Of old, folk were content with country-made gyrdles, &c.; now no poor man is so, and

no gentleman is with country-made clothes.

All must come from London, and are often made abroad.]

[We should stop this: either make trifles here, or else not use them.]

[Foreign trifles.]

[None of our own products (wool, tin, &c.) should be imported.]

[This would set 20,000 people to work.]

[¹ Fol. 48, back][We might make
all kinds of cloth
and clothes
here,

also paper,

all leather goods,
glass, cards,
chessmen; and

all iron tools.]

[All the money
for these now
goes abroad.][Three sorts of
traders.][1. Importers
send our money
away.2. Other trades-
men spend their
earnings in the
country.][² Fol. 49][3.]
That arte is to
be most chea-
rished in a
tovne that
brings most
to the tovvne.

be made beyond the Sea, and ¹might be made here; (might not the Prince bee glad of any ayde, whereby hee might finde X. M. persons through the whole yeare, and burden his treasures with neuer a penny thereof?) I think these things might be wrought here, not onely sufficient to set so many a worke and serue the realme, but also to serue other parts, as all kinde of Cloth and Kerfey, Worstedes, Couerlets, & Carpets of tapestry, Caps, knit Sleeues, Hofen, Peticotes, and Hattes; then Paper, both white and browne, parchment, velam, and all kinde of Leather ware, as gloues, poyntes, gyrdles, skins for Ierkins; and of tinne all maner of vessell, and also all kinde of glasse, and earthen pots, tennice balles, cardes, tables and chesses, since we will needes haue such things; And Daggers, kniues, hammers, sawes, cheffells, axes, & such things made of yron. might not wee bee ashamed to take all these things at straungers hands, & set such a multitude of their people a worke as I spake of now, whose finding & wages we doe beare now, where all this profit might bee saued within the Realme, where it should not goe from vs, but returne to vs againe from whence it came? And in setting vp of these occupations, I would haue them most preferred and cherished, that bring most commodity and treasure into the countrey; as yee must consider three sortes of occupations: one that carieth out the treasure; the second sort, that as it carrieth none forth of the countrey, so it bringeth none in, but that it getteth it spendeth in the countrey; the third bringeth in treasure to the countrey. Of the first sorte are Vintners, Milleners, Haberdashers; these galley men, Mercers, Fustian Sellers, Grocers, & Potheccaries that selleth vs any wares made beyond the Sea, for they doe but exhaust the treasure of the Realme. Of the second sort are Viçtaylorers, Inhoulders, Bouchers, Bakers, Brewers, Taylors, Cordwinders, Sadlers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Mafons, Blacke Smythes, Turners, and ²Hoopers; which, like as they conuey no money out of the countrey, so they bringe none in; but where as they get it they spend it. Of the thyrd sort bee these clothiers, cappers, worsted-makers, Pewterers, Tanners, which bee all that wee haue of any arte which I can nowe reckon, that brings into the realme any treasure. Therefore these artes are to bee chearifhed, whereas they be vsed, and where they bee not, they would be set vp; and also other sciences moe, as making of glasse, making of Swords, Daggers,

Knives, and all tooles of Iron and Steele; also making of pinnes, poynts, laces, thred, and all maner of paper, and parchment. I haue heard say that the chiefe trade of Couentry was heretofore in making of blew threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in manner onely; and now our thredde comes all from beyond Sea. Wherefore that trade of Couentry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewise. So Bristow had a great trade by making of poyntes, and was the chiefe misterie that was exercised in the towne. And albeit these be but two of the lightest faculties that are, yet were there two great townes chyfly maintained by these two faculties aboue rehearsed. I heard say in *Venice* (that most florishing citie at these daies of al *Europe*), if they may here of any cunning craftes man in any faculty, they will finde the meanes to allure him to dwell in their citie; for it is a wonder to see what a deale of money one good occupyer doth bring into a towne, though he himselfe doth not gaine to his owne commoditie but a poore luyng. As for example, what money one Worstedmaker brings into the towne where he dwelles, and how many haue lyuings vnder him, & what wealth he brings to the towne where he dwels, truly I can not sufficiently declare, for by a few worstedmakers the same townes they haue are growen to great wealth & ryches. So of Clothing and Capping. But where other cities do allure vnto them good workemen, ours will expell¹ them out; as I haue knowen good workemen, as well Smythes as Weauers, haue come² from straunge parties to some Cities within this Realme, intending to set vp theyr craftes, and because they were not free there (but specially because they were better workemen then were any in the Towne) they coulde not bee suffered to worke there. Such incorporations had those Misteries in those Townes, that none might worke there in their faculty, except they did compounde with them first.

And doe you thinke it reasonable that a straunger should bee as free in a City or Towne as they that were prentises there? then no man would bee Prentice to any occupation if it were so.

I sayde not that they shall haue commonly lyke liberty or Fraunchise; but as one crafte makes but one particuler companie of a Towne or City, so I would haue the weale of the whole City rather regarded then the commodity or Fraunchise of one craft or misterry;

[Fresh trades to be started.]

[Coventry has lost its making of blue thread; and Bristol its making of points.]

Tovvnes are enriched wvith some one trade.

[Venice entices skilld workmen to it.]

[See what money one Worstedmaker brings to a town!]

[1 Fol. 49, back]

[2 orig. comemon]
[We foolishly drive strange skilld workmen out of our towns.]

Capper.

Doctor.

[Very clever workmen should not only be made free of any town,

but, in a decay-
ing town, should
be given house-
rent, and lent
money.]

[1 Fol. 50]

[2 off]

[Makers of
goods for export
should be
encourag'd.]

[Middlemen
sellers of imports
only live on
their customers,
and do more
harm than
good.]

[Every town
should stamp
the goods made
in it with its
own mark.]

for, though commonly none should be admitted there to worke but such as are free, yet when a singuler good workeman in any mistery comes, which by his good knowledge might both enstruete them of the Towne being of the same faculty, and also bringe into the Towne much commodity beside, I woulde in that case haue priuate Liberties and Priuileges gieu place to a publique weale; and such a man gladly admitted for his excellency to the Freedome of the same Towne, without burdening of him with any charge for his first entry or setting vp. Yea, where a Towne is decayed, and lackes artificers to furnish the Towne with such craftes as were either sometimes exercised well there, or might bee by reason of the situation and commodity of the same Towne, I woulde haue such craftes men allured out of other places where they bee plenty, to come to those Townes decayed to dwell, offering them theyr Freedome, yea, theyr house rente ¹free, or some stocke lent them of the common stocke of such townes; and when the towne is wel furnished of such Artificers, then to stay the comming in of Foreners. But while the towne lacks inhabitants of artificers, it were no policy for the restauration of the towne to keepe of ²any straunge artificers; for the most parte of all townes are mainteyned by craftes men of all sortes, but specially by those that make any wares to sell out of the cuntry, and brynges therefore treasure into the same: As clothiers, cappers, worsted-makers, hatmakers, poyntmakers, pinners, painters, founders, smythes of all sortes, cutlers, glouers, tanners, parchment makers, gyrdlers, pourfers, makers of paper, thredmakers, turners, basket makers, and many other such. As for the mercers and haberdashers, vintners, and grocers, I cannot see what they doe to a towne, but fynde a liuinge to v. or vi. houtholdes, and in steade thereof empouerish ten times as many. But since men wil needes haue filkes, wine, and spice, it is as good that men do spend theyr money vpon such in their owne towne as to be dryuen to seeke the same further. As for the rest of the artificers, like as I said before, euen as they take no money out of the Countrey, so they bryng none in; as Taylours, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Tylers, Masons, Bouchers, vittailers, & such like. Also an other thinge I reckon woulde helpe much to relieue oure Townes decayed; if they would take order that al the wares made there should haue a speciall marke, and that marke to be set to none but to such

as be truely wrought. And also that euery Artificer dwelling out of all townes (such as cannot, for the commodity of their occupations, be brought to any towne to enhabite, as Fullers, Tanners, and clothiers,) should bee limitted to bee vnder the direction of one good Towne or other, and they to sell no ware but such as are first approued and sealed by the Towne that they are lymited vnto. And by these two meanes, that is to say, fyrste ¹by staying of wares wrought beyond sea, which might be wrought within vs, from comming in to be sold; Secondly, by restraining of our wolles, tiinne, felles, & other commodities from passing ouer vnwrought; And thirdly, by brynging in (vnder the correction of good towns) artificers dwelling in the countreies, making wares to be sold outward, & these wares to be viewed and sealed by the towne seale before they shoulde bee sold;—I woulde thinke oure Townes myght be soone restored to their auneynt wealth, or farre bettered if they would follow this.

[Country artisans to be affiliated to some town.]

[1 Fol. 50, back]

[Stafford's 3 Remedies for the Decay of Towns.]

Now wee pray you go to the last matter ye spake of: how these diuerfities of opinions may be taken away, which troubles the people very fore, and makes great sedition and deuision among them, and in maner makes debate beetwene neighbour & neighbour, the Father and his Son, the Man and his Wyfe, which is yet more to bee feared then all other the foresayd losses of wordly² goods. For if wee were neuer so poore, and did neuerthelesse agree amonge our selues, wee shoulde lycke our selues hoale againe in short space.

Knight.

[What's the remedy for our Religious Differences?]

[2 worldly]

Yee say truth: with concord, weake things do encrease & waxe big; And contrarywise, with discorde strong things waxe weake. And it must needs be true that truth it selfe sayth: 'Euery kingdome deuided in it selfe shal bee desolate.' Wherefore I cannot forbear to shewe you my poore opinion, how so great a mischiefe as this is may bee auoyded out of this our common Weale; & stil I will vse one trade, as in seeking out the oryginall cause, and by takinge awaye of that to thew the remedye. I take the chiefe cause hereof, aswel the finnes of them that be the ministers of Christs holy word and misteries, as of you that bee the flocke. And first, of ours, that haue swarued altogether from their due course, order, and profession, to all kinde of liberality, not onely to ³the basenes of lay men, but far inferiour to them in pride, couetousnes, and such. Wherefore yee lay men, seeing in vs no excellency in our maners in deede, thinke vs vnworthye

Doctor

Concordia que res crescunt, discordia maxime dilabuntur.

[The Sins of Ministers (and Laymen) are the cause of our Religious Troubles.]

[3 Fol. 51]

[While Ministers
liu'd up to what
they preach't, all
men obey'd
them.]

to bee your Leaders and Pastors, or to whose doctrine yee shoulde
giue credence, whome yee see in lyuing far discrepant from the same.
And therefore ye take vpon you *the* iudgment of spirituall thinges, to
whom it doth not appertain. As one inconuenience draweth euer
another after him, for so long as the ministers of the church were of
those maners & conuersation agreeable with theyr doctrine, So long
all men, yea, the greatest prynces of the worlde, and the wyfdest men, wer
content to beleue our doctrine, & to obey vs in things concerning *that*
soule; and since we fel from the perfection of life, we grew out of
credit, & the holy doctrine of Chryst suffered slander by our sinfull
liuing. So we haue giuen the fyrste occasion of this euil, & yee haue
taken it as an instrument to worke this scyfine withal. And though
both do euil therin, yet the remedy ought to begin at the roote of
this mischief, which I take to bee in the ministers & pastors spirituall.
And to be playne with you, and no more to dissemble oure owne
faultes then I haue done yours, except wee reforme our selues fyrst,
I can haue no great trust to see this generall scyfine and deuision in
religion vitterly taken away; it may, percase, wyth authority be for a
time appeased, but neuer so as it sprynge not againe, except wee re-
forme oure selues fyrst.

The occasion of
the scysme in
matters of reli-
gion.
[is the sin of
Ministers; and
unless they
reform, schism
'll not cease.]

Knight.

Mary! and I thinke yee haue ben wel disciplined & corrected al-
ready, so as yee had good cause to bee reformed, as by taking much of
your possessions from you, and in burdeninge of your benefices with
subsidies, as well annuall as proportional, and other wayes. What
other reformation would yee haue more?

Doctor.

[¹ Fol. 51, back]

Yea, no doubte wee haue had beatinge inough, if that would haue
ferued, but some maisters with litle beating will ¹teach theyr schollers
better *then* other with more strypes can doe; and agayne, some schol-
lers will be reformed with lesse beating then other. So you and we
doe now: you in beating inough, but litle teaching; and wee agayne,
litle regarding *the* strypes, doe learne as litle. For, notwithstanding
these punishments that we haue had, the reproches and reuilinge, and
opening of our faultes, see how many of vs haue reformed our
selues, yea, so much as in our outwarde duties, whereunto we are
bound both by gods lawe and our cannons lawes and decrees; how
many moe of vs haue resorted to our benefices to be resident thereon,
which not onely by the sayd lawes, but also vpon greate penalties wee

[We clergy have
been beaten;
but with litle
good result.

How many
more of us liue
in our parishes
now?

are bounde vnto by the lawes of this Realme! How many leffe now then before haue studied to heape Benefice vpon Benefice, when wee bee scante able to discharge one of them! what better triall or examination is there now in admittynge of ministers of the church? What more exacte searche is made by our Bishops for worthy men to be admitted to the cure of soules? What better execution of our canons and decrees doe our Bishoppes, Deanes, and Archdeacons in their visitations now, then they did before? Yea, what better hospitality, residence, or ministration eyther of the word or of their other duties, doe our prelates and Byshops now, then they did before? doe they not lurke in their mansions & manour places far from theyr cathedral churches as they were wont, and scant once a yeare will see their principall church, where they ought to be continually resident? be they not in a maner as vnmeete for preaching the word of God as euer they were, for all these plagues that God sendes to them? But they are so blynded, that they cannot see wherefore they be thus punished, & construe it to be for other causes, as by the couetousnes of lay men in desiringe theyr Possessions by a hatred conceiued agaynste them, for not obeyning theyr purpose ²at men of the Chur¹ches hand². Or for that they cannot abyde the correction of the church, or such other causes as they imagine with themselves; And thinke that the indignation against them shortly will flake of it selfe. But I pray God it doe not rather encrease, as I feare me it will, except we amend vs the rather. How can men be content to pay the tenth of theyr goods which they gette with theyr fore labour and sweate of theyr browes, when they can not haue for it againe neither ghostly comforte nor bodely? what layman will be any thing scrupulous to keepe those tythes in his owne handes, when hee sees vs doe nothing more then hee for it? what credite w[i]ll any man giue to our doctrine, whom they see so light in luyng? what reuerence will they giue our personnes, in whose manners they see no grauity? But to passe from these matters to others. There be most godly ordynaunces made by our lawes by auctority of Counsayles generally, that all Archdeacons should visite in person yeaerly theyr precinctes. The Bishop euery three yeares to see the whole Diocesse, what is to be reformed either priuately or generally, that priuate faultes might be reformed forth with, and the generall at the next Synode; and therefore they haue

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

[Non-residence. Pluralities, want of care in ordaining men, and in holding Visitations.]

[Bishops lurk in mansions, coming only once a yeare to their Cathedrals.]

[¹ Fol. 52]

[²—²? at church-men's hands.]

[Who likes paying us clergy tythes, when we do nothing for 'em?]

[Archdeacons and Bishops bilk the laws.]

[Procurations.]

[The sins of the English Clergy.]
[Bishops take the money for Visitations, but never visit.]

They take money too for holding Synods, but never hold 'em.]

[Fol. 52, back.
Catchword
Whereby]

[And yet reformation was never more needed than now.]

[Good lawes we have; but we won't keep 'em.]

Then laymen should make us.]

[If we Clergy want schism to cease, let us reform ourselves.]

theyr procurations. Visite they doe not in person, as they ought to doe, but by deputies, more for theyr procurations then for any reformation. The money is surely gathered, but the cause wherefore it was geuen, nothing kept; the stipend is exacted, and the worke wherefore it was due, vndon. Then is there another good ordenaunce and godly, absolved after the like sorte; where euery bishop should yerely keepe a sinode in his diocesse of all euangelicall persons, and euery archbishop a sinod for his whole prouince euery thyrd yere, that if any thing occurred in the diocesse worthy reformation, it might be referred to the prouinciall congregation, if it were either doubtfull to the bishop, or could not be reformed without greater auctority then the Bishoppes alone. ¹Where bee these sinodes now kept? yet they receiue euery yere theire sinodals of the poore priests; of such good ordenance & godly there is nothing kept, but *that* which is their owne priuat commodity, which be the procurations & sinodals; the other part wherefore *that* charge was laid is omitted; the burden remaineth, & the duty is taken away; yet better it were *that* both the one & the other were taken away, then to haue the good parte taken & the worse to remaine. If they will say *that* there needeth nowe a daies no such visitation nor synods, then there needed neuer none of them, for moe things to bee reformed among vs were neuer then be now, nor reformation neuer more necessary. But our prelates would say they dare make no lawes in such sinods for feare of penurye. what neede any mo lawes made then they haue already? what should let them to put these in execution that be already made, specially since they haue the aide of the temperal lawes thereto? are there not statutes made in parliament for residence, and for refrayning of pluralitie of benefices, which had neuer neede to haue ben made, if wee would haue put our lawes in execution? Are not we worthy to haue other men to correcte and reforme vs, when we can not reforme our selues? Is it maruaile that wee bee out of credence, when our life and conuersation is contrary to oure owne lawes and profession, and that the religion of them suffereth slander, offence, & reproche, which through our defaults shalbe once required of our hands? Therefore, if we wil haue this scisme taken away from christes church, let vs first reform our selues & put our lawes in execution, as in resorting to our benefices to keepe residence, and in contentyng our selues wyth one

Benefice a piece, and wyth the lyuinge that is appointed to vs for our ministration, without deuising of other extraordinary & vnlawfull gaines. For what is more agreeable with reason, then a man to spende his tyme where he hath his lyuing, and to do his office for that he hath *the* benefite of? ¹And seeing euery benefice is a mans liuing, —& if it be not, it might be amended til it be a competent liuing, and euery one requireth one mans whole charge,—What reason is it that one man should haue two mens liuinges, & two mens charge, where he is able to discharge but one? Then to haue moe, & discharge the cure of neuer a one, is to farre agaynst reason. But some, percase, will say, there be some of vs worthy a greater preferment then other, & one benefice were to litle for such a one. Is there not as many degrees in the variety of benefices as there is in mens qualities? Yes, forsooth, there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices from M. markes to xx. markes a yeare of sundry values to endow euery man with, after his qualities and degree. And if a meane benefice happen to fal, let euery man be contented therewith til a better fal. And if he be thought worthy of a better, let him leaue the first and take *the* better, for the meanest Benefice is a sufficient liuinge for some man, which should be destitute of a liuing, if that benefice and other like should be heaped vp together in great mens hands. Yea, I doe knowe *that* men which haue such meane benefices be more commonly resident, and keepe better hospitality on the same, then they that haue greater benefices. It is a common prouerbe, '*Its meary in Hall Whan Beardes wags all.*' Nowe looke throughe a whole Diocesse, you shall not finde xx. persons resident that may dispende xl. l. a piece; nor for al the benefices in a Diocesse, the fourth person resident ouer the same. What temperall office is so far abused as these be that be spirituall and of greater charge? I pray God send our Prelats Eyes to see these Enormities; for it shoulde seeme that they are so blinded that they cannot see them. And then I doubt not but all delays set a part they will reforme them; and if they do not, I pray God send our Maiestrats temperall the minde to reforme these thinges with their seculer power. And to study for the reformation ²of them, rather then for theyr possessions, Christian Princes beare not their swords in wayne; nor yet is it so straunge a thing to see Christian princes reforme the Prelates that swarue from their duties. Thus far be it spoken

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

[¹ Fol. 53]

Propter officium datur beneficium.

[We have benefices from 1000 to 20 marks a year, for men according to their capacity.]

[The poor clergy live at home more than the rich.]

[We haven't 20 resident Parsons with £40 a year.

Not 1 Parson in 4 is resident.

If the Bishops won't reform this, I hope to God the laity will.]

[² Fol. 53, back]

[The presumption of ill-informed laymen in judging religious matters.]

Cicero de offi. Lib. i.

[The faultes in the part of the laitye. *[orig. dutye]*

[All young students are cheeky, whether in Divinity, Law, Grammar, or any other science.]

[1 Fol. 54]

[No one ought to give an opinion on Bible difficulties till he's read for 7 years.]

[Evils of rash judgment.]

touching the reformation of them *that* be mynisters of *the* Church. Now to speake of *that* is to be reformed of our parte that bee of the laytye, yee must vnderstand, that al *that* geue them felues to the knowledge of any faculty, are commonly subiect to eyther of two vices (as that great clarke *Tully* doth report): *the* one is to take thefe things *that* we knowe not for things knowne, or as though we knewe them; for avoyding of which fault men ought to take both good space and great diligence in confideration of things, ere they come to geue iudgement of the same; the other vice, to bestowe too great a study and labour about obscure and hard things nothing necessary. Let vs now confider, and those faults be not among you at these dayes, ye be all now studious to knowe the vnderstanding of holy scripture. And well, for there can be no better desire, more honest, nor more necessary for any christian man; but yet doe yee not see many younge men before they haue either taken any longe time, or any good diligence in the confideration or study of scripture, take vpon them to iudge of high matters being in controuersie, geeuing to quicke assent eyther to their owne inuention, or to other mens, before they haue considered what might be sayd to the contrary. And this fault is not onely seene in men studious of the knowledge of scripture, but also in younge students of all other sciences: shall ye not finde a student in the lawe of the realme, after he hath bene at the study of *the* lawe not past iii. yeares, more ready to asfoyle you a doubtfull cause of the lawe, then either he himselfe or another, after *that* he hath studied the law xii. or xiiii. yeares. Yea, no doubt, so it is in a young Grammarian, Logitian, Rethoritian, & so of al other sciences. Therefore *Pythagoras* forbade his Schollers to ¹speake the firste v. yeares *that* they came to him, which lesson I would to God yee would be content to obserue, before yee gaue any iudgement in matters of holy scripture. And *then* I doubt not, but after vii. yeares reading, ye would by collation of one place with another of scripture, finde a greater difficulty therein then yee doe now, & bee more scrupulouse to geue an answer in high things then yee be now; and this harme cometh of rashe iudgement in *that* part, that when a man hath once vttered his opinion in any thinge, he will thinke it a great shame for him to bee brought from *that* he hath once affirmed for truth. Therefore, what so euer he readeth after, he construeth for the mayntenance of his

opinion; yea, and wil force that side, not onely with his wordes and perfwasions, but also with that powre and authority *that* he hath, and will labour to bring other to the same opinion, as many as he can, as though his Opinion shoulde bee the more true, the moe fauorers that he may get of *the* same. By such meanes, if we seeke but for the truth, that is not to bee iudged to be alwayes on the best side *that* getteth *the* ouer hand by power, authority, or Suffrages extorted. it is not like in the disceptacion & inquisition of the truth, as it is in a fight or a wrestling; for he that hath the ouer hand in these thinges, hath the victory; and in the other, hee that is sometimes put to silence, or otherwise vanquished in the fighte of the worlde, hath the victory and conquest of truth on his side. Since wee contend but for the knowledge of the truth, what shoulde wee deuide our selues into factions and parties? but let the matter be quietly discussed, tryed, and examined, by men to whom the iudgement of such thinges appertayneth. And provide, in the meane time, that neyther party do vse any vyolence agaynst the other to bringe them by force to this or that side, vntill the whole or most part of *them*, to whom *the* discussion of such thinges appertayneth vnto, ¹doe freely consent and determine the matter. That is the onely way to descide such controuerfies; and since this contention must once haue an ende, it were better take an end be times, then too late, when percase more harme shal haue ensued of this daungerous Scisme, as hath already done in other parties, euen before our Eyes, And in like thinges hath before this time bene seene, of such fort as it is too lamentable to bee remembred. what losse of Christian men, what diminishing of the Christian fayth, what continuall warres hath the Faction of the *Arrians* bene the occasion of? did it not seperate and seuer at length all *Asia* and *Affricke* from the Christian fayth? Is not the Religion, or rather the wicked supersticion, of the *Turke* graffed ouer this *Arrian* Sect? did it not take his foundation thereof? As there is no dyuision more daungerous then that which groweth of matters in Religion, so it were most expedient and necessary to bee quikely remedied, which cannot bee done by any other way then by a free and generall counsell, that hath bene alwayes from the time of the Apostles, who first tooke that remedy (euen to their dayes) the onely way to quiet and appease all controuerfies in religion. And no doubt the holy Ghost, as his promise is,

[Truth doesn't always get the most votes.]

[Why should seekers for the Truth split into factions?]

As Constantyne the great did in the time of Arius.

[1 Fol. 54, back]

[Let all questions be discussed by experts, and the majority decide.]

[The only way to stop divisions is to have a General Council.]

[No doubt the Holy Ghost 'll come to it. Yet the Bp. of Rome (or Pope) is a difficulty.]

How this scisme might be remedied.

[* Fol. 55]

[Our rows are on
(1.) the pay of the clergy, or
(2.) points of Religion.

Let the Clergy settle (2), and the secular powers (1).]

[How to deal with the Bp. of Rome.]

The Bishop of Rome is no indifferent man. [but the Whore of Babylon.]

Knight.

Marchaunt,
Husband,
& Capper.

Doctor.

wilbe presente in euery such assembly that is gathered together by no force or labor of any affection. But now wee will say, though we would for our partes set a fide parciality, and be indifferent and vse no coercion to get numbers & voyces that shoulde fauour our partes, who can promise that the Byshoppe of *Rome* and other Prelates would doe *the* same? Surely, if yee did say so, yee sayd a great matter, for they be men, & much more subiect to affections then yee be. But I shalbe bolde after my manner to tell my minde herein, aswell as in other things. I take all these matters that be now a dayes in controuerfie to be of one of these sortes: that is, either touching the profits and emolumentes of the Prelates & Mynisters ¹of the church, or touching pointes of religion. As touching those articles that concerne religion, I would wishe *that* they had onely the discusion thereof, which ought and haue vsed alwayes to haue the iudgement of the same; & as touching the articles that concerne the profits of Ecclesiasticall persons, I would haue these left to the discusion of the secular powers, because it concerneth secular things onely; where no man neede mistrust, but that *the* Maiestrates will provide an honorable liuing for that kinde of men that serueth so honorable a rounge as *the* ministracion of Gods holy word and his Sacraments. Furthermore I woulde wishe in things touching *the* byshop of *Rome*, & his iurisdic[tion], *that* he should be set a part, & some other indifferent persons chosen, by christian Princes, to direct or be Presidents in the Counsaile, while his matter is in handlinge (if it please Christian Princes to houlde a counsaile with that Whore of *Babylon*,) for no man is meete to be a Iudge in his owne cause. Here I haue but briefly touched *the* summes of things after my simple phantasie, referringe the allowing or reiecting of all or some of them to your better iudgement.

I am forry that it is so late that wee must needs depart nowe.

And so bee wee, in good fayth; but wee trust ere you departe the towne, to haue some communication wyth you agayne.

I will bee glad, if I tarry in the towne. But as yet truly I knowe not whether I shall remayne here beyonde too morow morning, which if I do. (in any thing *that* my simple iudgement will reach vnto you) you shall heare my farther opinion; in the meane time, I pray you so to thinke of mee as of one that if I haue spoken any thing which may

bee preiudiciall to the commonweale any way, I am ready to reuoke it, and to yeele to the iudgement of any other man that can shew how all these griefes, or the more part of them,¹ may bee remedied by any oþher better meanes; for I know, of many a thoufande in this lande I may worste speake in such a wayghty matter. And so here for this prefente I take my leaue of you all.

[The Doctor's willing to yield to any wiser Doctor of the Social Evils of his day.]
[1 Fol. 55, back]

And thus wee departed for that time; but on the morrowe, when I knewe maister Doctor was gone out of the towne, I thought not meete this communication should bee lost, but remembered at the least in mine owne priuate booke, to the intent, as opportunity shoulde serue, I might brynge forth some of his Reasons in places where they might eyther take place or be aunswered otherwise then I could. And therefore I haue noted the sayd communication briefly of this sorte,

Knight.

[I've set down shortly the Doctor's reasons.]

as you see.

• • •

FINIS.

IMPRINTED

at London in Fleetstreate,
neere Vnto Saincte Dun-
stones Church, by Tho-
mas Marfhe.

APPENDIX.

[PROCLAMACION FOR THE ABASSING OF COYNES.]

[March, 1561.]

[*Ashm. MS. 1148, leaf 395.*]

By the Quene.

ALTHOUGH the Quenes Maiestie had determynd (aftre the tornyng of the base and copper moneyes to fyne Sterling moneyes, Whiche to hir greate honor, and the weale of the Realme was ended aboutes Michellmas last) to have forboren for the ease of hir people from the amendment of the vallue of the same fyne moneyes, for some convenyent tyme, and with some kynde of moderation therein : Yet is hir Maiestie nowe, vppon many and necessary cawses newly happened, moved and induced, though to hir owne private greate chardge, to alter this hir former purpose, bothe for the tyme and the moderation in the doing thereof. Whereof emonges other cawses, the rashnes of a greate sorte of people, shewing their wytt owte of season, and the covetoosnes of a greater sorte, are the principall: the one by spredding thoroughie the realme of rvmors that frome one markett-daye to an-other the money shold be decayed, meanyng thereby to prevent vnseasonably and vntymely, hir Maiesties Determination, (for staye whereofe hir Maiestie gave ordre by proclamation, but as it nowe appereth, not thereby remedyed, by reason the same rvmors were before-hand vniuersally spredd and dryven into mens heades by sinistre meanes); the other sorte, taking hold of thes rumors, and onely vppon covetoosnes furthering the same, have allredy vniuersally enhaunced the prices of all thinges to be solde for money, according to the rate as thoughte the moneyes were allredy decayed. And nowe for that it is evydent that the vniuersall expectation for the decaye of the money, is, by meanes of these former rvmors, so constantly and depely settled in mens heades; and thereaftre the prices of all thinges so highly enhaunced, that vntill the moneyes be in dede

brought to the vullue at the whiche they were entended and ought to be, not onely the meaner sort of people, as laborers in husbandrye, handycraftes-men, and suche like, but also all serving-men, Soldiours and others, lyving onely by pention or wages, and therewith bying their victell and sustenance; shalbe pytefully oppressed with vnreasonable prices and derth. Therefore hir Maiestie, having compassyon of their estate, for the releffe of theym, and for the remedye of suche a willfull Derth, and consequently with one dede (that hereafter of necessity ought to haue followed) to make suche a fynall certeyn end and honorable establishment of the state of the moneyes of this realme, as hathe been long wished, and is never hereafter to be chaunged ne altered. By the advise of hir Counsell and of many other noble, wyse, and expert men, Dothe declare, and by this proclamation dothe ordeyne; that all maner of moneys now curraunt within this realme shall, afre this proclamation, be vullued and curraunt as hereafter followeth. And so shall remayne withowte chaunge, being in very dede the Standard that hathe contynewed and remayned in this realme, sence the sixt yere of king Edward the fourthe, her Maiesties greate grandfather, and so all the tymes of king Edward the fifte, king Richard the thirde, and king Henry the viith, and so forthe vntill the xvjth yere of the reigne of king Henry the eight, hir Maiesties father, whiche is so ryche and good as none canne be better for the state of this realme thereby to florish and growe in wealthe and good ordre.

First, the Moneyes of gold shalbe curraunt as followeth :

ffyne gold	{ The	{ Souerayne Royall Angell half Angell	{	{ That was curraunt for	{ xxx s. xv s. x s. v s.	{	{ Shalbe curraunt for	{ xx s. x s. vj s. viij d. ij s. iiij d.
Crowne gold	{ The	{ Souerayne half souerayne Crowne half crowne	{	{ That was cur- raunt for	{ xx s. x s. v s. ij s. vjd.	{	{ Shalbe .cur- raunt for	{ xij s. iiij d. vj s. viij d. v s. xx d.
Straunge gold	{ The	{ ffrenche crowne Burgundion crowne	{	{ That was curraunt for	{ vj s. vj s.	{	{ Shalbe curraunt for	{ iiij s. iiij s.

Secondly, the Moneyes of Siluer shalbe curraunt as followeth :

ffyne ster- ling Sil- uer	{ The	{ Shilling half shilling Quarter shilling Three half pence Three farthings	{	{ That was curraunt for	{ xij d. vj d. iiij d. jd. ob. ob. q.	{	{ Shalbe curraunt for	{ viij d. iiij d. ij d. jd. ob. ob.
---------------------------------------	-------	--	---	-------------------------------	---	---	-----------------------------	---

And forasmuche as there be three other peces of siluer moneyes curraunt in this realme, that is to saye, a grote, twoo pence, and a

penny, the which cannot be reduced to any good and even rekonynge one by one, Hir maiestie meanynge that no person shold take more harme by theym then by hir other moneyes, Dothe ordeyne that three of the same grotes shalbe curraunt for eight pence, and three of the saide peces of twoo pence shalbe curraunt for a grote, and three of the saide pence shalbe curraunt for twoo pence, And for that the quantytie thereof in the realme is not greate, and yet cumbersom to the people to paye one by one, Hir maiestie is pleased, betwixt the end of the next moneth and novembre following, though it shalbe to hir pryvate chardge, to delyver at hir mynt, for every of the saide three peces, as muche other fyne moneyes as the same be nowe vallued by this proclamation. And all this, hir maiestie wold to be accepted of all good naturall subiectes, as one of the principall actes tending to the recovery of the auntyent fame and wealthe of this realme; and that no credytt be gyven to malitioose, busye, and envyoose persons, that either of ignorance or malice shall deprave this noble acte: Wherein hir Maiestie evydently susteyneth at this present so greate a burden in hir present treasure, as (were it not for respect of the commen weale) ought not to be by hir Maiestie borne. But hir principall care is, with godes grace and speciall assistaunce, to preferre allwayes the weale, suertie, and honor of this Realme, before hir owne pryvate weale or estate/.

Gyven at the Palace of Westminster, the daye of Marche, the fourthe yere of hir Maiesties reigne. 1561.

God save the Quene.

[Endorsed:—] Proclamacion for the
Abassing of Coynes

NOTES.¹

p. x. A learned acquaintance at New College writes :

"As far as my own observation goes, I should certainly agree in considering that 'the tone of W. S.'s book is not that of a man of 27.' One phrase which is put into the Doctor's mouth, 'these 40 years' (I forget the exact context [p. 51 below]) would hardly have come naturally from a writer who had not seen 30. Nor can I see sufficient evidence to identify the William Stafford of New College with the 'Conspirator' of 1587.

"The *Briefe Conceipt* is not in our College Library ; nor is it apparently among the books given to Winchester College Library by W. Stafford."

The passage my correspondent alludes to is on p. 51 below, where the Doctor says : "I haue heard within these xl. yeares, when there were not of these Haberdashers that selles french or Millen Cappes . . . and such thinges, not a dosen in all London." If we may identify our W. S. with his Doctor, this settles that he was not Lady Dorothy Stafford's son, specially when it is confirmed by other like sayings by the Doctor, on p. 27 (haue you not seene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares) ; p. 28 (where he speaks of the old prices of caps, shoes, and horse-shoeing) ; p. 40 (if that kinde of inclosing doe asmuch increase in xxx. yeares to come, as it hath done in xxx. yeares past . . .) ; p. 64 (where he contrasts the old wages, &c. with the new, and says, "I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer," &c.) ; p. 68 (where he refers, as having livd in them, to 'the later yeares of King Henry the eight,' who died Jan. 28, 1547) ; p. 81 ('our Coyne at this present day, yea, *and many yeares past*, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse") ; p. 86, 87, 89, &c., all implying that the speaker was old. But, as I have noted in my Fore-words, W. S. *may* be speaking only dramatically through the Doctor (cp. 'ours,' 'yee laye men,' p. 91 ; p. 92, &c.) If so, we must notice that W. S. identifies himself, the writer of the treatise, with the Knight, on p. 32, p. 75, and in the last paragraph of the book, p. 99, "therefore I haue noted the sayd communication briefly of this sorte, as you see." If then the Knight represents William Stafford, he was probably older than the Doctor, for not only does he refer, near the top of p. 33, to his buying pigs and geese 30 years ago, but near the foot of the page he pro-

¹ The Notes and Indexes are mainly by Miss Isabel Marshall of Bedford.—F.

bably implies that he had Abbey or priory lands given him by Henry VIII. in or soon after 1532 A.D. But the safer plan is, no doubt, to rely on the general tone of the book, to which I appeald at first; and I do not think many readers will differ from the conclusion of my correspondent and myself on the point of the author's not being a man of 27.—F.

p. xii. *William Stafford and the Popish Plot*. Mr Greenfield sends me a further note (29 July 1876), which is interesting, but contains no evidence as to the authorship of the *Briefe Concept* :—

“The difference between us as to the author of the ‘*Compendium*’ is narrowed to a question of likelihood. I think the balance is in favour of the son of Queen Elizabeth’s Lady of the Bedchamber.

“Excuse me for suggesting that you do not seem to understand the part which William Stafford played in the project of Des Trappes. This branch of the Stafford family was strictly Protestant, of the Calvinistic type. In the reign of Mary, Sir William and his wife, with their eldest son and daughter, migrated to Geneva, where their youngest son—afterwards Sir John Stafford, Kt.—was born and baptized in Jan. 1555-6, *John Calvin* being the godfather.

“William, their second son, was not a *popish plotter*. He may have been an intriguer and informer of Walsingham’s. The political morality of that age was not what it is now. Plot was met by counterplot. Elizabeth and her Lords of the Council ‘knew well how to throw the responsibility of odious measures upon their instruments.’ Success was rewarded, whilst failure was disowned and not unfrequently punished. The system of spies and informers was at its height; and Walsingham, as Secretary of State, employed both largely.

“January 1586-7 was a very critical time for the Queen and the minister. The Babington conspiracy had only just before been stamped out. It had been preceded by those of Somerville in 1583 and Throgmorton in 1584, besides a general commotion of opposite religious parties. In 1584 the Earl of Leicester organised the association ‘*against popish conspirators*,’ which was mainly to strengthen Elizabeth’s hold over the Scottish Queen’s liberty and life. More recently the commission for the trial of the Queen of Scots had pronounced sentence of death against her. Pretexts were sought for justifying Elizabeth’s signing the warrant of execution. The King of France had sent over M. de Bellievre as a special envoy to intercede for Mary’s life. He had discharged his mission before the end of December, and was now demanding his passport of return, which he received on 14 January 1586-7. Such are facts. Need I paint the effect of the situation upon an aspirant for court favour? The hope of reward, if he succeeded in implicating any of the members of the French embassy in a plot for getting rid of Elizabeth and saving the life of Mary?

“Whether he were a volunteer, or an agent of Walsingham’s, the effect of success, or failure, would be the same. Stafford tells us, however, that Walsingham directed him to go on with the affair.

"The statements of Stafford and Des Trappes as to who first took up the project of assassination are contradictory. Anyhow, Walsingham could not have believed that Stafford was in earnest, even if it emanated from Stafford: otherwise, we may be sure he would not have come out of the Tower alive. As it was, Stafford failed in committing any of the French embassy in a plot, and of so adding a justifiable pretext for Elizabeth's signing the warrant for the execution of Mary. Hence it became colourably necessary, for the credit of Elizabeth and her minister, to imprison Stafford. So much as to Stafford's doings in this matter.

"With regard to the author of the *Compendium*, I think Dr Bliss's assertion, viz., 'Besides him' (W. Stafford, M.A., of Ch. Ch. in 1618) 'was another of the same name, but before in time,' &c., must be restricted in its application to an *Oxford Student*, and not generally. This construction strengthens the claim I make for the Fellow of New College as the author of the *Compendium*."

p. xiii. Note that our Wm. Stafford had studied Moral Philosophy; p. 12, l. 26-7.—F.

p. 12. *Image* = representation. Cp. *Hamlet*, III. ii. 248.

p. 14. "*there comes me in*." This is another of the so common instances of what Grammarians call the Ethic Dative, found constantly in Greek. It occurs in Shakspeare over and over again: *Two Gent. of Verona*, IV. iv., "he steps *me* to her trencher"; "he thrusts *me* himself into the company"; &c., &c.

p. 21. "*There may be . . . that they had*." Cp. *Love's Labour Lost*, I. i. 71.

p. 23. *compleate*. This may be an example of the adverbial inflexion in *-e* common in Chaucer. See Morris, Introduction to Prologue, p. xl. There is another instance, *uprighte*, on p. 24.

p. 24. *to ear*. Cp. *All's Well that Ends Well*, I. iii.

p. 27. *esteemeth*. "The plural of the pres. indic. ending in *-eth* was the ordinary inflexion for all persons in the Old English Southern Dialects."—Morris, Int. to Chaucer's Prologue, p. xxxviii.

p. 33, l. 6 from foot: *any*. Is this for *many*, or a use of *any* = some?

p. 34. *Meany*: cp. Chaucer, meyné, *Knts. Ta.* l. 400; *Nonnes Priests Ta.* l. 573. Mod. French *ménu*.—I. M.

As *meine* is one of the words that Stanihurst calls 'Chaucer English,' I take the opportunity of reprinting all he says on the English talkt in Ireland:—

"Howbeit to this daie, the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English Old English in are kept as well there [in Wexford] as in Fingall, as they Weisford and Fingall. terme a spider, an attercop; a wisp, a wad; a lumpe of bread, a pocket, or a pucket; a sillibucke,¹ a copprous; a faggot, a blease or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I iudge); a physician, a leach; a gap, a shard; a base court or quadrangle, a bowen, or rather (as I doo suppose,) a barton; the houshold or folks, *meanie*; sharpe.

¹ Sillybawk, a syllabub. *Lincolnshire*.—Halliwell's Gloss.

keene ; estrange, vncouth ; easie, eeth¹ or eefe ; a dunghill, a mixen. As Bater.

for the word 'bater,' that in English purporteth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a meere Irish word that crept vnawares into the English, through the dailie intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie in all countries the women speake most neatlie and pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, speaking in the person of Crassus, seemed to have observed : yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out contrarie. For the women haue in their English toong an harsh & brode kind of pronuntiation, with vttering their words so peeuishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset. And most commonlie, in words of two syllables they give the last the accent : as theysaie, markeat, baskeat, gossoupe, pussoat, Robart, Niclese, &c : which doubtles dooth disbeautifie their English aboue measure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt custome, there is none that could dislike of their English."—1586. Richard Stanihurst, *The Description of Ireland*, Holinshed's Chronicle, 1587, vol. ii. p. 11, col. i, l. 28—58.—F.

The pronun-
tiation of the
Irish women.

p. 37. *Brass money.*

French Soldier. Est il impossible d'échapper la force de ton bras?

Pistol. Brass, cur !

Thou damned and luxurious mountain goat,

Offer'st me brass?—*Henry V.*, IV. iv. 17—21.—P. A. Daniel.

p. 40. "*Men do turne . . . but only sheepe.*" This passage, with those on p. 46 and p. 80, is strong evidence of the existence of the Old Teutonic Arable Mark. See Maine's *Village Communities*, Lect. III.

p. 49. "*Surely common . . . men the more.*" Compare with this the following passage from the official letter given to Sir Hugh Willoughby and Sir Richard Chancellour in 1553, when they set out on their famous voyage of discovery. It is quoted in the Introduction to Adam Smith, from Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 231 : "For the God of Heaven & Earth, greatly providing for mankinde, would not that all things should be found in one region to the ende that one shoulde need of another ; that by this means, friendship might be established among all men and every one seek to gratifie all . . ."

p. 50. *foreign trifles exchanged for English valuables.* Compare Harrison, Book II, chap. 9, p. 235, col. 2, ed. 1587 : "I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuersitie of stuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our selues could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that not our own, but other mens, do most of all delite vs ; & for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorsses for children, dogs of wax or of cheese, twopennie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for disards, hawkeswhoods, and such like trumperie, whereby we

¹ A.S. *eaðe, eðe.*

reape iust mockage and reproch in other countries." See too chap. 10, p. 236, col. 1, l. 50, "one trifling toie not worth the carriage, *comming* (as the prouerbe saith) in three ships from beyond the sea, is more woorth with vs, than a right good iewell, easie to be had at home." And chap. 1, p. 221, col. 1, l. 27, "And it is so sure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the sea, though it be not worth three pence, is more esteemed then a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far exceedeth that value." Also, Book II., chap. 19, p. 323 of my edition.—F.

p. 51. *the Millener*: the dealer in goods imported from Milan. The name has narrowd into that of the maker or seller of ladies' bonnets, hats, caps, &c.—F.

p. 51. *glasses*: on the general use of glass drinking vessels, see Harrison, Book II., p. 147; and Falstaff in 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. i. 155, "Glasses, glasses is the only drinking." Also F. Thynne's *Emblems*, &c. p. 62, l. 8, "glasse vessells for banquettinge are dailie had in pryse."—F.

p. 51. *vile claie*, &c.: the silex and potash to make glass of.—F.

p. 51. *pryple* (*pebble*) *stones and Ferne rootes*. Compare Harrison, p. 147: "The poorest also will haue glasse if they may; but sith the Venecian is somewhat to deere for them, they content themselves with *such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone*."—F.

p. 52. *Wool exported, and wrought abroad*. Compare Harrison, Book III., chap. 10, p. 236, ed. 1587: "Some of them [foreigner traders] can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case [= skin] of a fox, of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once wax wiser, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will, for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here doo starue and beg their bread, and, for lacke of dailie practise, vtterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science."—F.

p. 64. *Excesse in apparell and fare*. Compare Harrison, Book II., chapters 7 and 6, p. 167—172, p. 144—155.—F.

p. 64. "*Countenance*," fair shew. Cp. *Measure for Measure*, V. i., "Unfold the evil which is here wrapt up in *countenance*."

p. 97. "*hee that is sometimes . . . truth on his side*." There is a passage similar to this in J. S. Mill's *Essay on Liberty*, ch. ii. p. 16, People's Edition.

ARCHAIC WORDS AND FORMS.

- A, to, p. 27.
 A doe, to do, p. 15.
 Aduyscs, p. 12, l. 12, opinions. Fr. *avis*.
 Afore, before, p. 22.
 Agayne, *prep.* against, p. 40, l. 12 from foot.
 Agglettes, tagged points, p. 50.
 Appayred, grew worse, p. 80.
 Areses, pieces of Arras tapestry hangings, p. 66.
 Assay, p. 45, try.
 Assoyle, resolve, explain, p. 96.
 Assured, p. 43, sure.
 Away, *for* do away, p. 66.
 Basing, p. 49, cowering.
 Ben, p. 80, been.
 Biefes, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, oxen.
 Booty, remedy, p. 18; same as Boote, Chaucer's Prologue, l. 424.
 Bouchers, p. 71, butchers.
 Bread-corn and malt-corn, p. 46.
 Broode, *sb.* breeding, stock, p. 43, l. 10.
 But, only, "liveth but a hundreth," p. 22.
 By, during, "lived *by* all that space," p. 23, and p. 26.
 By, on, "lived *by* their day wages," p. 16.
 By course, in order, p. 63.
 By likelihood, p. 82, probably.
 By means it being, p. 80, by means of its being.
 Can, know, p. 25.
 Censure, p. 12, line 21, opinion, criticism.
 Chargeable, p. 46, expensive.
 Cheape, *sb.* p. 35, bargain, price.
 Chearished, p. 47. Fr. *chever*, to cheere, to cherish, &c.
 Ciuilion, p. 40, l. 7 from foot, one learned in the Civil Law.
 Civile, p. 21, civilized.
 Civility, p. 26, civilization.
 Cleane, p. 19, proper, neat, well appointed.
 Close, p. 14, private.
 Come in place, p. 30.
 Commodities, commodiously, conveniently: "lying commodities for them," p. 66, l. 3 from foot.
 Competently, p. 49, enough.
 Compleate, p. 23, completely.
 Concept, conception, idea, p. 67.
 Concertation, p. 27, conference, p. 20, 23, comparison.
 Conjunct, p. 23.
 Conservation, p. 15, preservation.
 Considered *of*, for *by*, p. 35, l. 25; consider me, p. 34.
 Countenance, 'fair shew,' state, p. 63, p. 64, and note.
 Cut, slasht, p. 64, l. 6 from foot.
 Damozins, p. 54, damsons.
 Dearth, dearth, p. 47, l. 4 from foot.
 Declination, decline, p. 65.
 Devise, p. 12. Fr. "*Devis*: m. Speech, talke, discourse, a conference or communication." — Cotgrave.
 Disceptation, p. 12, l. 7 from foot. Fr. "*Diceptation* . . . disputation, contention, arguing, debating, reasoning, about a matter." — Cotgr.

- Discussion, distinguishing, p. 24.
 Dispend, p. 95, spend.
 Displeasaunt, p. 43, l. 3 from foot, displeasing.
- Eare, to plough, p. 24, and note.
 Eke, p. 72, also.
 Enhause, p. 28, raise.
 Ensearch, p. 30, l. 3 from foot, search out, seek for.
 Enter-comminers, p. 86, inter-comminers.
 Entermelled, p. 86, intermixed.
 Equipolent, p. 22, of equal power.
 Erable, p. 41, l. 15 from foot, ploughable, arable.
 Estats, states, condition, p. 20.
 Esteeme, p. 58, estimate.
 Evangelicall, p. 94, preaching the gospel.
 Exercise, tillage, practise it, carry it on, p. 44, l. 15.
- Feate, p. 12, l. 13; p. 41. Fr. "*fact* : m. A fact, act, motion, . . . also, an allegation, proposition, argument, or article, in pleading." —Cotgrave.
 Feate, manufacture, trade, p. 46, p. 69, l. 19.
 Fetched at, p. 51.
 For, before infinitive, for to helpe, p. 18, like Fr. *pour aider*.
 Freating, p. 59, fretting, biting.
 Fryseadowes, p. 51, ? Frisian fine cloth.
 Furniture of her warres, equipment for them, p. 24.
- Garded, braided, ornamented, p. 64, l. 6 from foot.
 Gardes, braidings, ornaments, p. 65, l. 19, 20.
 Gettings, earnings, p. 29.
 Goeth clear, is free from blame, p. 27.
 Good, better, best, used as a term of comparison, "good cheap," a good bargain, p. 34 et passim.
- Graffe, graft, p. 24.
 Groundely, p. 55, fundamentally.
 Growing of, proceeding from, p. 70.
- Haleth, p. 31, haul, pull.
 Handy labour, p. 41.
 Hath bene, p. 40, have been.
 Have in charge, p. 11.
 Him, it, p. 82.
 His, *gen.* its, p. 81.
 Holde, p. 35, l. 5, holding, farm.
 Holpen, p. 33, helped.
 Hoyssing, p. 82, hoisting.
 Husband, farmer, husbandman, p. 32, &c.; p. 40, l. 4 from foot.
- Image, p. 12, picture.
 Impulsion, p. 78, impulse.
 In maner, p. 21; in manner for, p. 15; maner, welt: "well maner of things."
 Inning, p. 24, getting in.
 Intend, p. 69, l. 20, devise, create.
- Lay forth, bring forward, p. 42.
 Least, p. 77, lest.
 Leaver, p. 37, rather.
 Let, hinder, p. 94 et passim.
 Licked themselves whole, p. 28, 91.
 Longe of, result of, modern vulgar along of, p. 16.
 Luker, p. 48, lucre, money, gain, profit.
- Maintenaunce, in, of, p. 41, in support of.
 Manurance, holding or handling (?), p. 63.
 Manure, p. 63, p. 77, to cultivate. Cp. *Othello*, I. iii. 328: "sterile with idleness or *manured* with industry."
 Meane, p. 41, means.
 Meany (mainy, p. 84), household, following, p. 34, p. 64, and note.

- Member of Philosophy, p. 12.
 Minish, p. 19.
 Misterye, p. 69, trade, business.
 Moe, more, p. 22.
 More, greater, p. 32, l. 11 from foot.
 Mought, p. 80, might.
 Move, p. 12, l. 8 from foot, touch on, discuss.
 Muttons, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, sheep.
 Myne, p. 68, my.
- Neare, p. 76, nearer.
 Non, not, p. 23.
 Nor, no, p. 21, double negative, like Fr.
 Noted a, *for* noted as a, p. 14.
- Occasion, take, p. 69.
 Occupied, carried on, practist, p. 47, l. 18.
 Occupier, p. 89.
 Occurrents, occurrences, p. 23.
 Of, p. 46, l. 5, by.
 Of my faith, p. 27; of all hands, p. 18, *for* on.
 On, complain, *for* of, p. 13.
 Ordered, p. 27, l. 10, arranged, made accessible.
 Other, for others, p. 15.
 Over, besides, in addition to, p. 8.
 Owches, p. 50, ornaments, jewels.
- Paines, punishments, p. 47.
 Pass my compass, p. 12, go beyond my limit.
 Paynefull, p. 47, l. 1, trouble-taking, laborious.
 Penner, p. 50, l. 5 from foot, pen-case.
 Percase, perchance, perhaps, p. 41, l. 13, &c.
 Perfit, perfect, p. 23.
 Peruse, p. 63, examine.
 Phantasies, fancies, p. 68.
 Physicke, Physics, p. 24, l. 2 from foot.
 Plentious, well to do, p. 19.
- Poulder, powder, p. 29, l. 5 from foot.
 Prety while, a, p. 32.
 Provoked, p. 12, l. 11, p. 47, l. 8 from foot, calld on, stirrd up.
 Puke, French, p. 64, l. 7 from foot.
 'Explained by Baret, a colour between russet and black. "*Chiaro scuro*, a darke puke colour," Florio, p. 97.'—Halliwell's Glossary.
 Pull, p. 30, pull up, pluck out.
 Purchased, procured, p. 25.
 Pylate, p. 26.
- Rear corn, to grow it, p. 46.
 Refreshing, *sb.* p. 41.
 Remember, remind, p. 66.
 Reporte me, I, p. 29, I appeal (to you).
 Resemble, compare, p. 26.
 Resemble, to, of, p. 15.
 Respect, to have, to, p. 28.
 Rise *at* your hand, p. 35, l. 20, rise from, be caused by, your hand.
 Romth, space, p. 57.
- Scripture, hath not red scripture, p. 26, studied. Cp. Fr. *Scavoir moult d'escripture*, to be learned, or skilfull in, or well acquainted with, most bookes.
 Seene, a man universally, p. 32, cultured.
 Selled, p. 78, sold.
 Set by, p. 25, 26, to value.
 Sette, lease at a fixt rent: "sette your land," p. 35; "price is so set," p. 35.
 Shale, p. 26, husk, shell.
 Shiftes, p. 35, l. 14, turns, tricks.
 Should, p. 22, 37, would.
 Sith, p. 30, since.
 Skant, scarcely, p. 14.
 Slake, p. 93.
 Smarte, p. 81.
 Sorte, of that, p. 74, in that way.

Spake, p. 32, spoke.
 Sparkes of gold, p. 51.
 Spoke, p. 45, spoken.
 Stay, at a, p. 28, at a fixt level, permanent.
 Stent, *sb.* p. 35, l. 4, stop, point.
 Stented, fixt, stopt, limited, p. 63, 66.
 Stricke, strike, p. 60.
 Subjection of, subjection to, p. 21.
 Such who, p. 27.
 Suerty, p. 30, safety.
 Sweeped, swept, p. 66.

 Taken, p. 12, considered.
 Tallage, p. 86, l. 8, duty, tax. Fr. "*taille*: f. A taske, or tax; a tallage, tribute, imposition."—Cotgrave.
 Taryng, p. 22, tarrying, remaining.
 Than, then, p. 11, 14, 17.
 That that, that which, p. 23, 66.
 That, *for* those, p. 23; *for* that which, p. 22; *for* what, p. 12.
 This, *adv.* thus, p. 35, l. 7 from foot.
 Thorough, p. 30, through.
 To, in addition to, p. 23.
 Trade, p. 91.
 Travaile, p. 21.
 Trespass, break (the law), p. 85, l. 13 from foot.
 Trimming, ornamentation applied to houses, p. 66.

 Understanded, understood, p. 56.
 Uprighte, uprightly, p. 24.
 Use, p. 38, to be in the habit of.
 Uttered, p. 69, l. 8, put forth, exported, sold.

VERBS.

Infinitive Mood, used for Subjunctive.

Societie to grow, p. 49.
 to the intent to eat, p. 14; to the intent to continue, p. 41.
 in hope to come, p. 16; ground to sustaine, p. 72.

Used for Modern dependent Indicative Clause.

"I . . . confess . . . that, . . . yet the dearth . . . *to remain and continue*," p. 81; "to assure . . . the same to be," p. 60.

Used for Present Participle.

have given over to live, p. 17;
 heard of it to do, p. 54.

Past Participle in *-en*.

are growen, p. 59.
 is comen, p. 66.

Indicative Mood, Present tense, 3rd pers. plural, ending in *-eth*.

Esteemeth, p. 26, note.
 Conueieth, p. 66.
 Standeth, p. 31.

Sing. number after plural nouns, &c.:

some excelles, p. 12; other that followes, *for* others who follow, p. 15; inclosures . . . causes, p. 15; men sendes, p. 20, &c.

Verderers, p. 66, ? Fr. "*Ouvrage de verdure*, Forest worke; or flourisht worke, wherein gardens, woods, or forests, be represented."—Cotgrave.

Vente, p. 84, last line; course.

Ventered, p. 50, sold. Fr. *vente*, sale.

Vility, p. 85, l. 3 from foot, vileness.

Wall, driveth me to the wall, puzzles me, beats me, p. 35.

Weaking, weakening, p. 40, l. 17.

Weild, p. 77, l. 3 from foot, wield, manage.

What, p. 18, which.

Whether, p. 79, where, whither.

Which, p. 14, who.

Whom, p. 21, those with whom.

Wist, p. 45, knew.

Would, p. 41, should.

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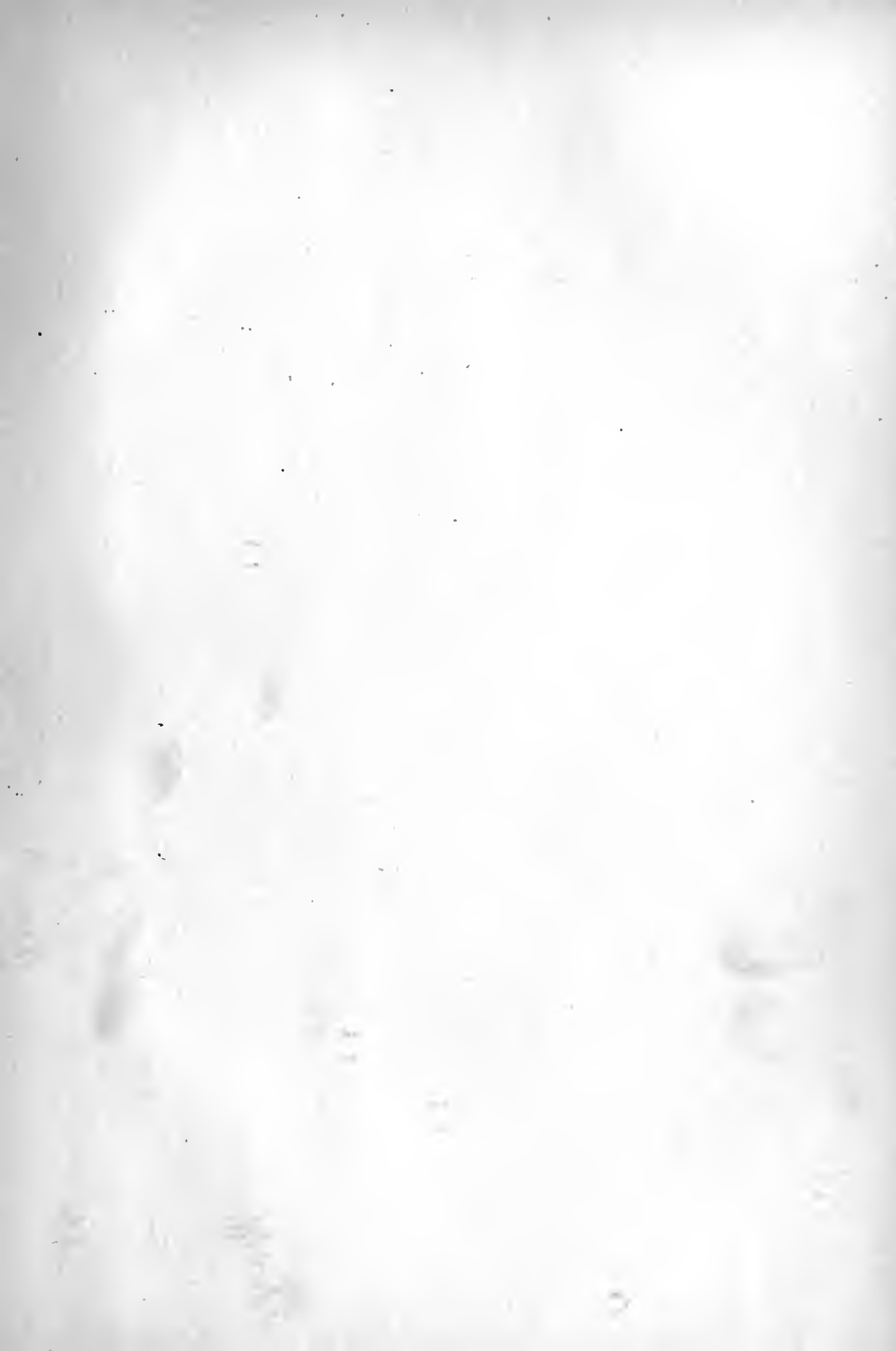
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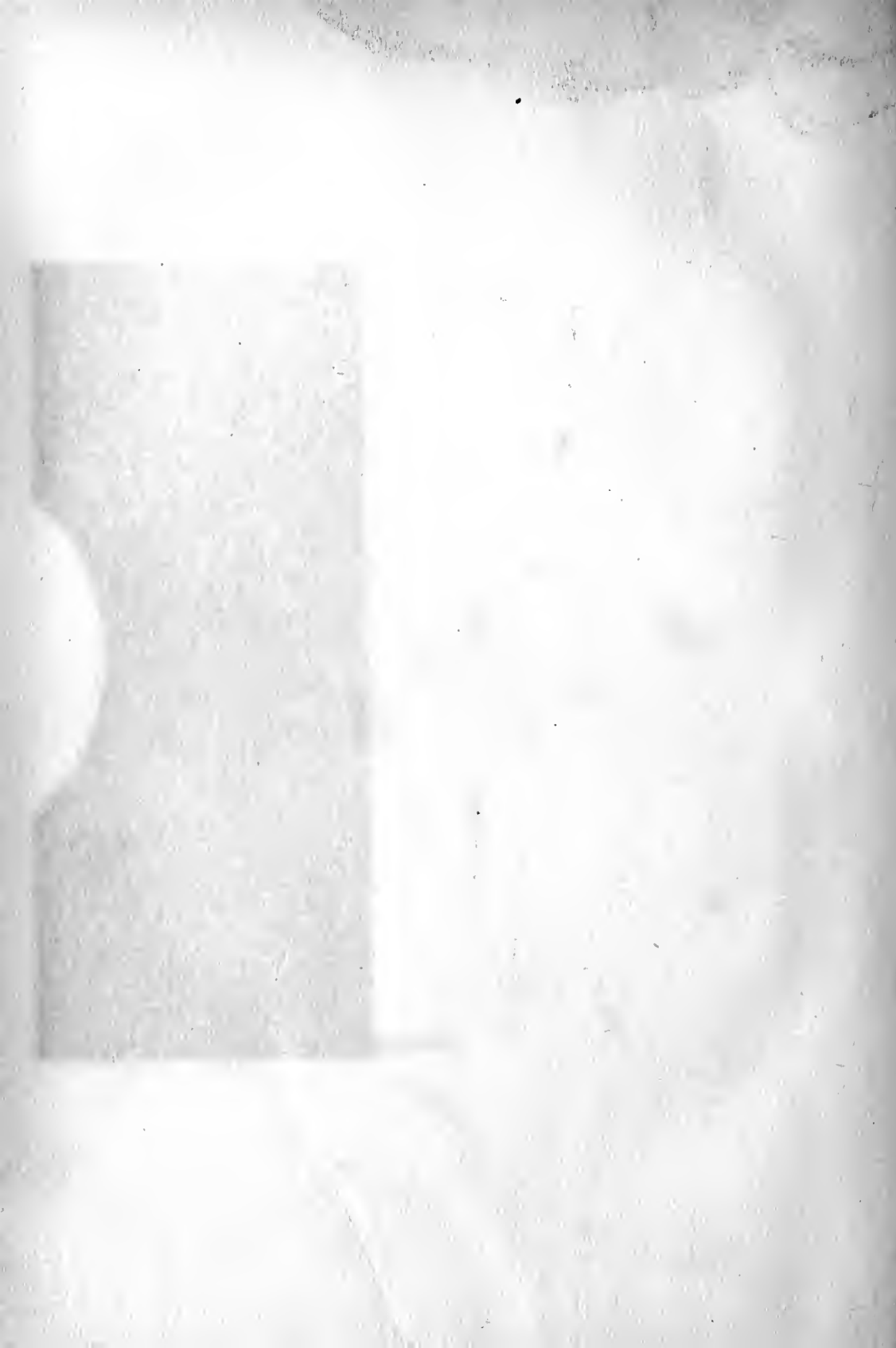
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